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COLLECTION
OF
BRITISH AUTHORS

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

VOL. 2355.

THE JOURNALS
OF
MAJOR-GEN. C. G. GORDON, AT KARTOUM

IN TWO VOLUMES. — VOL. 1.

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THE JOURNALS OF MAJOR-GEN. C. G. GORDON, C.B., AT KARTOUM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

SOLITARY WALKS

BY

COTTESLOE

THE JOURNALS

OF

MAJOR-GEN. C. G. GORDON, C.B.,

AT KARTOUM.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

A. EGMONT HAKE.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

WITH EIGHTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS AFTER SKETCHES
BY GENERAL GORDON.

LEIPZIG

BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ

1885.

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PREFACE.

THE work of editing these Journals is at an end; it only remains now for me to thank one of my oldest and most valued friends, whose assistance in every way I wish most thoroughly to acknowledge: this is Mr. Godfrey Thrupp. When it became obvious that the public demand for the work made its completion in so short a time impossible—as the conscientious achievement of one man—he generously came forward. His knowledge of the East and his deep interest in the subject made him an invaluable colleague.

A. EGMONT HAKE.

June 11, 1885.

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INTRODUCTION.

"Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones.
* * * * *
Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
To such a sudden flood of mutiny.
They that have done this deed are honourable;
What private griefs they had, alas! I know not,
That made them do it; they are wise and honourable,
And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.
* * * * *
But were I Brutus,
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
In every wound of Cæsar, that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny."

THESE grand lines force themselves upon me, though maybe their analogy is incomplete. Mark Antony was a casuist, and pleaded the cause of revenge; I am only earnest in the cause of justice. Yet I trust in my pleading to enable Englishmen to realise how great and how sad is the loss of Charles Gordon, not only to those who loved him, but to the cause of suffering humanity. Gordon is dead. We cannot bring him back to life. Yet from his

death we may learn at least how fit he was to teach us while he lived, how fit to hold his country's honour in his hand, how fit to judge of what was right and what was wrong. His journals are his last words to the world as much as they are instruction and information to his Government, and Englishmen who value England's honour may well read them with a heavy heart—with eyes dimmed by tears. I say Gordon is dead, and we cannot bring him back to life, but we can do much he would have done for us *had he been allowed to live.* His journals tell us how we can best repair mischief already done (and I understand his words to apply rather to the English people than to the Government which represents them), and they tell us what is best for the Soudan. In the interest of this unhappy land he devoted much of his life; in its interest he died. Let us then compare the opposite conditions under which the people existed during Gordon's presence and absence, and in doing this let us mark well what Gordon said during his life, and what his journals say for him now that he is dead.

***

Gordon used to tell the story of how, when Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt before Ismail, went up to the Soudan, so discouraged and horrified was he at the misery of the people, that at Berber he threw his guns into the river, declaring he would be no party to such oppression. In this spirit Gordon went there as Governor of the Equator in 1874, and in this spirit he expressed his views on the duties of foreigners in the service of Oriental States. His ardent and un-

studied words are worthy of the deepest study. They breathe the kindliest wisdom, the most prudent philanthropy; and it would be well if those whose lot is thrown in barbarous lands would take them for a constant guide. To accept government, only if by so doing you benefit the race you rule; to lead, not drive the people to a higher civilisation; to establish only such reforms as represent the spontaneous desire of the mass; to abandon relations with your native land; to resist other governments, and keep intact the sovereignty of the State whose bread you eat; to represent the native when advising Ameer, Sultan or Khedive, on any question which your own or any foreign government may wish solved; and in this to have for prop and guide that which is universally right throughout the world, that which is best for the people of the State you serve.

Such were Gordon's sentiments when he first entered upon his task; well would it have been for Egypt, England, and the world, had his successors taken them to heart and made them their ideal. In such a case the peace, the happiness he brought to the Soudan might still have been preserved.

Never perhaps in the histories of barbarous rule were the ideals of justice and truth more needed than at this date (1874). Seven-eighths of the population were slaves; the country swarmed with slave-hunters and slave-dealers; and district governors, greedy for pelf, aided and abetted them in their raids. So crushed were the remaining population that they regarded all comers as their foes; so destitute that they were ready and willing to exchange their own kin for cattle or for grain. Their flocks and herds, like their

kindred, had been robbed. To sow they were afraid, for governors and slave-hunters never let them reap; and if perchance they cultivated ground, it was a mere patch hidden in some distant nook out of the enemy's way. The maxims of their rulers, prior to Gordon's advent, had been that if the natives—poor unenlightened blacks—did not act in the most civilised fashion, then must they be punished; and when these rulers for their own acts were brought to book, they cited the native custom of "plunder no offence" in their own excuse. How the governors, in league with dealers and hunters, had acted up to these precepts, was apparent enough in the desolation which reigned around, for amid the jungle of stunted trees and tall grasses not a soul was to be seen—all driven away by the slavers in past years. With the Egyptian Government such was the estimate of this waste, that it did service as a colony for misdemeanants among Arab troops; and hundreds of these died from the damp and the dulness of the scene. In other parts less than 100 men dared not move from one station to another, in fear of the retaliating tribes, and so far were these stations apart that it took six weeks to communicate one with the other. In addition to this certain chieftains who inhabited the borders of the great lakes were engaged in wars in which the capture of slaves was the main motive.

Such, in brief, was the state of affairs between Kartoum and the Lakes when Gordon made his journey thither; yet it afforded in no way the only instance of oppression, anarchy or misrule in these lands. In Kordofan and Darfour the slave-traffic was even more formidable than here. In the latter pro-

vince a war between the slave-dealers and the Sultan's troops was just concluded, and the two vast lands, with Darfertit, had been made into a Homkumdircat, or Governor-General's district responsible to Cairo, and separated from the Soudan. But Gordon's work was for the present confined to laying down a chain of posts between Gondokoro and the Lakes, and by this and other means contributing to the welfare of the tribes and the confusion of the slavers. To gain the confidence of the natives was his first care; and to this end he ventured alone and unarmed into those isolated spots, whither not less than a hundred men had dared to go. Then he showed the people how they might sow their grain without fear, supplying them with enough to live on until their wants were met; he also taught them the use of money, and gave them task-work. It was infinitely little, he said, among such a mass, but it was at any rate something, and might perhaps enable him to solve the question whether the negroes would work sufficiently to keep themselves if life and property were secured. To give them this protection, he seized all convoys of slaves, and ivory and cattle coming from the south, punished the slave-dealers, or converted them into troops, for they were hard, active fellows, the remnant of an ancient race; and designing and despotic governors he despatched to Cairo or Kartoum. The slaves themselves, until he could deliver them over to their kinsfolk, he kept, the cattle and the ivory he confiscated, and with the proceeds swelled the Government treasury.

It would seem the fate of those who devote their lives to the cause of humanity to be foiled instead of

aided in their aim. In all his efforts for the good of these blacks Gordon met with every form of interference whence he might at least expect support. Ismail Pasha Yacoub, the Governor-General of the Soudan, jealous of the new Governor of the Equator and fearful of exposure from so conscientious a servant of the State, put every obstacle in Gordon's way; and the Khedive himself was not always mindful of the many difficulties to be encountered. But Gordon said, to blame the Khedive for his actions you must blame his people, and blame their Creator; they act after their kind, and in the fashion they were made. So that he took little heed of all this. He was content to let it be widely known that the motto of his province would henceforth be Hurryat (liberty); and this meant that no man should interfere with another, that there should be an end to kidnapping and all plunder, an end to despotic Pashas; and those who objected were told that the motto included *their* liberty to quit. Moreover, he was of opinion that those who annexed the province needed as much civilisation as those they attempted to civilise; and, whenever it was necessary, in the interests of his people, he never hesitated to show them that this was his view.

Still, though he succeeded in giving peace and happiness to the people, in reforming the cruelties of Mudirs and Pashas, in settling the disputes of warring chiefs, and in laying down the chain of posts between Gondokoro and the Lakes: in making all these beneficent reforms, his heart was ever burdened with the thought of how this new and unaccustomed good would affect the people and their lands when, as time went on, himself and his influence were removed, and his

successors, who understood his high intent as little as they understood the people themselves, ruled in his stead. "I think, what right have I to coax the natives to be quiet for them to fall into the hands of rapacious Pashas? I think sometimes that through my influence I am seducing the natives into a position where they will be a prey to my Arab successor. They would never do for an Arab what they do for me. I make friends with the tribes right and left."

But, apart from these feelings, he was not satisfied; his success in his own province had been complete, but, instead of meeting with co-operation from the adjoining Soudan, he had encountered nothing but interference from its then Governor-General, Ismail Pasha Yacoub, to whose interests it was to let slavery go on. For this reason, therefore, Gordon, after three years' labour, resigned his post as Governor of the Equator. But the step was taken in a wavering spirit; and these are among his last words ere he left: "By retiring I do not aid anything; by staying I keep my province safe from injustice and cruelty in some degree. Why should I fear? Is man stronger than God? Things have come to such a pass in these Mussulman countries that a crisis must come about soon."

These significant words, so terribly confirmed less than ten years later, were uttered in September of 1876.

Gordon's resignation soon led to his reinstatement on terms more fitted to his views. In the new position he felt strongly that, great as was the trust and the almost superhuman work expected of him, if he did not entirely succeed at least he would not be hampered. He was not only appointed Governor-

General of the Soudan in Ismail Pasha Yacoub's stead; he was given authority such as none had previously enjoyed—complete power, civil and military, with the life or death of his subjects in his hand; and no man dare enter his dominions without special leave. He had stipulated that this supreme command should be independent of Cairo, for he knew the Egyptian authorities to be in favour of the slave-trade. The undefined territory now his had hitherto been subject to several governments—Arab, Egyptian, Turkish. Henceforth Soudan was to mean the vast territory limited on the north by Upper Egypt, on the south by the Lakes, on the east by Abyssinia and the Red Sea, and on the west extending beyond Kordofan and the newly acquired sultanate of Darfour—the whole roughly estimated at more than 1600 miles in length, and 700 miles in width. There were to be three Vakeels or Sub-Governors: one for the original Soudan, another for Darfour, and a third for the Red Sea, or Eastern Soudan.

The suppression of slavery, in which he had been so far successful in his own province, and the improvement of communications, which he had long declared to be the one means by which that traffic could be effectually checked, were the two objects to which Gordon was to specially direct his aim.

Remembering his recent experiences, he was fully prepared for the condition of his new subjects. In his predecessor, Ismail Pasha Yacoub, he had already recognised the quintessence of Egyptian cupidity and Turkish misrule—the main cause of the people's ruin. The experiences of the first months of his administration only served to confirm his worst fears; whitherso-

ever he looked he saw an enlarged picture of native misery and destitution, of alien cruelty and oppression he had before witnessed. He saw that the Circassian Pashas, the Bashi-Bazouks, the Arab soldiery, the slave-hunters, were by their acts fast goading the people to revolt; that tribes which without their interference would have been at peace were now at war; that towns which under proper rule would have flourished were starving or besieged; and that the land, otherwise fertile, was a waste. On every hand he found caravans of packed slaves hungering and parching in the sun, far from their homes and far from their goal, unless that goal were death; deserts strewn with innumerable bones; armed bands of slave-hunters, dogged by the vulture-like dealers, waiting and watching for further prey; and over all these reigned the miscreant spirit of Zubair, the slave-king, now ostensibly a prisoner at Cairo for past deeds, but actually aiding and abetting this cruel war against man through his son Suleiman, the chief of his deserted band. To remove Zubair's influence was as impossible of achievement as to cut off the demand for slaves at Cairo, Constantinople, or Stamboul; but to break up Suleiman and his band lay within Gordon's grasp, and, as one of the main causes of trouble, he made it his foremost aim. How he did this by the simple power of his presence, and how Suleiman and his six thousand, after signal submission, again broke out into open revolt so soon as Gordon's presence was required elsewhere, affords one of the most striking examples of the personal influence he had acquired. Alone and himself unarmed he had temporarily succeeded in disarming these rebels; but, this failing in permanent use, he effectually quelled

them in battle; then, to show his people, his Government, and the world how great a wrong this slavery was, he ordered the summary execution of the ring-leaders. "With the death of Zubair's son," he said, "there is an end of the slave-trade." Never had the Government such a chance of preventing its renewal. He had disbanded the Bashi-Bazouks, he had dismissed the peculating Mudirs and Pashas; and when he left the country, after a three years' reign, the people blessed him, and begged him to return.

Had he been allowed to act according to the letter and the spirit of the Firman he received, it is most probable that he would never this second time have resigned; but the overthrow of Ismail at Cairo and the dissolution of the Dual Control had with other changes brought new law-makers for the Soudan. Ismail, though in many respects an imprudent ruler, had at least the merit of believing in his English Governor-General, and of supporting him whenever it lay in his power. Gordon's lonely ride into the slaver's camp at Shaka had fired the ex-Khedive's imagination, and it was observed that, whenever the Court Pashas attempted to criticise Gordon's methods of rule, the Khedive referred them to this deed. Moreover, he openly acknowledged him as his superior, and fought his battles as those of one who was above the murmur of men. Gordon has, indeed, himself recorded how the Khedive sent him a congratulatory letter on the suppression of Suleiman, adding that during the time of his rule the ex-Khedive supported him through thick and thin against his own Pashas and his own people; and certain it is that to the files of petitions sent to him against Gordon he would never listen.

But when Towfik was set up it was a different affair. Never was he heard to mention Zubair's name. As for the slave-trade, it was equally ignored. Nay, worse than this, the Cairo Pashas, powerless in Ismail's time, had now full sway, and it being in their interests that the slave-trade should revive, the choice of Gordon's successor was settled among themselves. It fell to Réouf Pasha, a man whom Sir Samuel Baker had already exposed as a murderer, and whom Gordon had in 1877 turned out of Harrat for acts of oppression. The appointment, therefore, meant nothing more nor less than a declaration in favour of the slavers; and it was because Gordon feared this result that he had said six months before, viz., in April 1879, that "If the liberation of slaves takes place in 1884, and *if the present system of government goes on, there cannot fail to be a revolt of the whole country*." And again he says in 1878, "There is no doubt that if the Government of France and England pay more attention to the Soudan and see that justice is done, the disruption of the Soudan from Cairo is only a matter of time. This disruption, moreover, will not end the troubles for the Soudanese, though their allies in Lower Egypt will carry on their efforts in Cairo itself." *

How prophetic these words have since proved to be it is needless to say. In April 1880, just a year later, Gordon wrote, as he left for India:—

I have learned with equal pain and indignation that the Khedive and his subordinate officers have permitted the resuscitation of the slave-trade in Darfour and the other pro-

* Hill's "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa," p. 373.

vinces of central and equatorial Africa, and that fresh parties of slave-hunters are forming at Obeyed in Kordofan, and that every order which I gave concerning the suppression of this abomination has been cancelled.

The two missionaries—Wilson and Felkin—who have lately come down from Uganda, passed through these districts, and they tell me that the slave-hunters are all ready to start once more upon their detestable trade, and that there is a very strong feeling abroad that all the Europeans, including of course Gessi and the other officers who acted under me, are about to be turned out of the country. This report, even if it be untrue, will largely serve to lower the authority of the European officers, and to render their work more difficult.

This news is very disheartening, especially when one realises the immense misery which will ensue to the remains of these poor tribes of helpless negroes.

The events which followed on these first examples of a wholesale perversion of Gordon's methods have proved over and over again the value of his warning words; it is worthy of special remark that among the causes of the great rebellion which ensued, as interpreted by the English Government in their history and the insurrection of the False Prophet,* not the religious fanaticism of the native tribes has a foremost place, but the venality and oppression of by Egyptian officials, the unjust manner of collecting the taxes, and, *above all, the suppression of the slave-trade, which Gordon had repeatedly said must lead to future troubles, unless accompanied by a proper system of government.*

Thus the condition into which the Soudan drifted during Gordon's absence was due to deliberate neglect of the precautions he had urged. Had the Egyptian

* See Appendix.

Government watched and warded off the regeneration of the slavers after Gordon dealt his final blow in Suleiman's death; had they set their face against the oppression and cupidity of their own officials, the Soudan might still have been at peace, as Gordon left it in 1879. But the new rulers were in favour of slavery, in favour of oppression, in favour of *backsheesh;* and "a revolt of the whole country" was their reward.

***

It is needless to do more than briefly recall the events preceding those related by Gordon himself in these Journals. Every one remembers his going, and the triumph of his journey and reception in the Soudan; the wide welcome which his first Proclamation received, and the fortunes of the peace policy he at first endeavoured to pursue. Every one remembers how, before he had been in Kartoum a week, he issued a further Proclamation, warning the rebellious against forcing him to severe measures. The Sheikhs and people were anxious to be loyal; without Government protection they would be forced, in self-defence, to join the Mahdi. This Colonel Stewart had discovered in his journey up the White Nile. For this reason Zubair was asked for, the only man of enough prestige to hold the country together. A Pasha among the Shaggyeh irregulars, a tribe wavering between loyalty and revolt, and blockaded at Halfyeh, outside the city,—to him were open sources of information closed to the English Governor-General. Zubair would prove stronger than the Mahdi, and the Mahdi must be "smashed up;" otherwise, not only would peace and the evacuation of Kartoum be im-

possible, but Egypt itself would be in danger. This state of affairs and the measures necessary for a new departure being alike unacceptable to Her Majesty's Government, Gordon thereupon used, as he had every right to do, the resources to his hand. His predictions as to what would result if Zubair were not sent up were soon realised. The rebels gradually gathered round the city, besieged its outlying suburbs, and cut the communications. His suffering subjects, unable to hold out, were either killed or, escaping, went over to the enemy. In some cases he managed to drive the rebels from the trenches of Kartoum, and even to relieve the beleagured villages, and return loaded with ammunition and stores; in others, his army of defence, composed largely of Egyptians and Bashi-Bazouks, encountered miserable defeat. These expeditions were made in small steamers, armoured with boiler plates and carrying mountain guns, with wooden mantlets of his own contriving. On one occasion the rebels so harassed the city that Gordon resolved on a sortie; but no sooner had the rebels retired to a place of safety than five of his own commanders charged back on their men and aided the rebels, who suddenly leaped from their hiding-place, driving the affrighted army back to Kartoum. In this treacherous and cowardly affair the loss on both sides was great; but the disgrace was the besiegers', and of it they showed their sense by crying out for justice on the traitors. Two of them were tried and found guilty, and were shot by the men they had outraged. Henceforth the city was exposed to the attacks of the Mahdi's troops; the streets, the Mission House, the Palace were hourly shelled; citizens died as they passed from end to

end; but the Governor-General, always exposed as in old days, though daily inspecting the lines or pacing the Palace roof, escaped unhurt.

Meantime the strength of the rebellion grew with every day; the Mahdi, still at El Obeyed, had despatched his emissaries in all directions; around Suakin, Berber, Shendy, Kassala, the rebels rapidly recruited their ranks. The would-be loyal fell from sheer collapse; they were unable to help themselves. All chance of relief was gone, and the rebel leaders re-echoed in jeering tones the Governor-General's reiterated words, "The English are coming." Then Berber, the main link between Kartoum and Cairo, cried out for help, but like those at Tokar and those at Sinkat, it cried out in vain. To do as he pleased was the answer sent to its hitherto loyal Governor; and, to save his people and himself, he joined the Mahdi's hordes. In his triumph, the False Prophet despatched two dervishes to Kartoum, to ask if Gordon would himself become a follower of the Imam, the Expected One; but they were told that no terms could be made while Kartoum held its ground.

All hope of a peace, all hope of aid from his own Government or country, being at an end, Gordon forthwith began to provision the town, and to take such steps as would ensure a safe means of defence and attack. Money was scarce, so a paper currency was established, and three of the wealthier citizens were called upon to advance sums on the Governor-General's security. Their arrears were paid, the poor were succoured, and rations issued. All possible precautions were taken for the safety of the people. Mines were contrived, torpedoes laid, and broken

glass and wire entanglements arranged, and watchers posted everywhere. The blacks quartered in the poorer district of the town were made to serve, and all men ordered to bear arms; the staple food of officers was biscuit, and dhoora was given the men. Having made all his arrangements on land, he now turned his attention to the Nile; and, as in the campaign against the Taipings, so in this desperate struggle with the Arabs, he organized out of the wretched materials at hand a fleet such as the rebels could not withstand. Thus he avenged defeat, drew in stores and guns, and held the enemy at bay. So that for eleven long months, spite of mutiny, cowardice and treachery within, and the constant attacks from the enemy without, he held his own; and to spare, out of the little navy he had built, a steamer for the conveyance of his comrades, Stewart, Power, Herbin, and the Greeks. Moreover, when at last the news of the English Expedition arrived, he was further able to send down three other boats to Metemma for their use. It is at this point, when vainly watching day and night for English help, that the Journals begin. How his time was passed till we should come, how he viewed our chances of success, and how he proposed to act if we at last did arrive—this is a story which the Journals tell themselves.

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I have endeavoured to show the conditions under which the people of the Soudan existed during Gordon's absence and during his presence. The contrast is sufficient to enable the world to believe that if any man were capable of restoring order to the country, that man was Gordon. But when he

left England for the Soudan as the Envoy of Her Majesty's Government, he had no authority to *act*, for his mission was only to advise. He was to report to Her Majesty's Government on the military situation in the Soudan, and on the measures which it might be deemed advisable to take for the security of the Egyptian garrisons still holding positions in that country, and for the safety of the European population in Kartoum; and, further, upon the manner in which the safety and good administration of the Egyptian Government of the ports on the sea coast could best be secured. So far then all *action* lay in the hands of the Government to which Gordon was to make his report: the administrators were to be Her Majesty's Ministers and their representative at Cairo, while Gordon was to be their informant, and perhaps subsequently their agent, to carry out such measures as they might think fit to adopt. With this arrangement in view, all who knew Gordon's character and antecedents felt that the only chance for the Soudan lay in Her Majesty's Government first accepting such suggestions as he might append to his report, and, second, in their giving him *carte blanche* to carry out those suggestions in his own way. Little heed was paid to the clause which said, "You will consider yourself authorised and instructed to perform such other duties as the Egyptian Government may desire to entrust to you," for its possible value seemed upset by the concluding sentence, "and as may be communicated to you by Sir E. Baring." Yet this clause, strangely enough, enabled Gordon to hold a position over which even Her Majesty's Government could have no control, unless they openly declared the

annexation of Egypt and the Soudan. The Egyptian Government, that is the Khedive and his ministers, elected again to appoint Gordon Governor-General of the Soudan; Gordon elected to accept that appointment; and Her Majesty's Government elected to sanction the acceptance, in an official communication forwarded to him through their representative, Sir E. Baring. For this moment Gordon's position was entirely altered. Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government agreed that his mission was no longer to be one of mere reporting. He was to "*evacuate the Soudan, and the Egyptian Government had the fullest confidence in his judgment and knowledge of the country, and of his comprehension of the general line of policy to be pursued; and no effort was to be wanting on the part of the Cairo authorities, whether English or Egyptian, to afford him all the co-operation and support in their power.*"

When it became an established fact that General Gordon, Governor-General of the Soudan, had been sent up to evacuate the garrisons of the country, it also became an established fact that the method of conducting that evacuation had passed out of the hands of Her Majesty's Government; and one may also say it had virtually passed out of the hands of the Egyptian Government while Gordon held the Firman of the Khedive. Therefore, as this Firman was never cancelled from the day of Gordon's departure from Cairo to the day of his death at Kartoum, and as it said, amongst other things, "We do hereby appoint you Governor-General of the Soudan, and we trust that you will carry out our good intentions for the establishment of justice and order, and that you

will assure the peace and prosperity of the people of Soudan by maintaining the security of the roads open, &c.," it is as unfair as it is illogical to talk about "*General Gordon having exceeded the instructions conveyed to him by Her Majesty's Government.*" These instructions were neither more nor less than those conveyed to him by the Khedive of Egypt, who actually delegated his own power to his Governor-General. To exceed his instructions was an impossibility; to fulfil or to disappoint all the hopes expressed in them was a possibility dependent solely on the good or bad faith of the Governments who employed him.

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The fact that Gordon held his commission in Her Majesty's service and the Governor-Generalship of the Soudan at the same time, in no way compromised him with Her Majesty's Government in regard to their wishes as to how this or that should be done, or as to how this or that should be left undone: yet he tried earnestly to identify himself with their wishes as far as in doing so he could keep faith with the people he was endeavouring to assist, and with whom he began to compromise himself. That he was justified in so doing there should be no shadow of doubt even in the minds of Mr. Gladstone's ministry. The wishes of the Khedive were accepted by Gordon as the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, and he had begun to act, *i.e.* to compromise himself with the Soudanese and the beleaguered garrisons before he reached Kartoum.

These are the Khedive's wishes as expressed in a letter to Gordon, dated January 26th, 1884:—

EXCELLENCY,

You are aware that the object of your arrival here and of your mission to the Soudan is to carry into execution the evacuation of those territories, and to withdraw our troops, civil officials, and such of the inhabitants, together with their belongings, as may wish to leave for Egypt. We trust that your Excellency will adopt the most effective measures for the accomplishment of your mission in this respect, and that, after completing the evacuation, you will take the necessary steps for establishing an organised Government in the different provinces of the Soudan, for the maintenance of order, and the cessation of all disasters and incitement to revolt.

We have full confidence in your tried abilities and tact, and are convinced that you will accomplish your mission according to our desire.

The Khedive could hardly have written this letter had he imagined Lord Granville would telegraph three months later to Gordon, saying that "undertaking military expeditions was beyond the scope of the commission he held, and at variance with the pacific policy which was the purpose of his mission to the Soudan."

Effective measures for the accomplishment of General Gordon's mission included the possibility and great probability of serious fighting in the interest of a pacific policy, and it is strange if Lord Granville were unable to grasp that fact when he endorsed the Khedive's Firman.

So far I have advanced only a few of the innumerable proofs of Gordon's authority to act as he thought fit; as to his capabilities and his judgment it is unnecessary to speak. Of those who subsequently would not accept his judgment, one, Mr. Gladstone,

said, "It was our duty, whatever we might feel, to beware of interfering with Gordon's plans, and before we adopted any scheme that should bear that aspect (*i.e.* the aspect of interference), to ask whether *in his judgment* there would or would not be such an interference." The other, Sir Charles Dilke, said, "He is better able to *form a judgment* than anybody. He will have, I make no doubt, every support he can need in the prosecution of his mission."

Personally I do not believe that a single Cabinet Minister doubted Gordon's authority to act as he thought fit, nor do I believe a single Cabinet Minister doubted either his capabilities or his judgment. It was only when the Government realised how strong that authority was; how significantly Gordon proposed to wield it, and how he meant to call upon his country to support him in what was right, irrespective of party feeling and of prejudiced public opinion, that references were made to "*General Gordon's peculiar views*" and to "*his disobedience of orders.*" I would let the latter remark pass as unworthy of further comment, were it not for the fact that it has become a common phrase among the working classes in the North of England, when they are either speaking of or are spoken to about General Gordon. Now I sincerely trust and believe that the Journals will be read eagerly by the working classes; they cannot occupy their leisure time better than in reading them, and, indeed, in learning much of them by heart. I would say then, to these people, *Do not believe that General Gordon was disobedient to his Government.* His Government permitted him to accept the Khedive's Firman, appointing him Governor-General of the

Soudan, with full powers, civil and military, and the Khedive desired him to "evacuate the garrisons of the country, and to restore order;" and the way in which this was to be done was left to the discretion of the man who had to do it. I would also ask these people to note particularly that the Khedive did not tell him to evacuate the garrisons of Kartoum and leave the other garrisons in the lurch; did not tell him to sacrifice everything rather than engage in military operations against the Mahdi; did not tell him to identify his interests with those of the people and then to get away as best he could, and to leave the people to their fate. Had the Khedive told him to do this, he would never have accepted the Governor-Generalship of the Soudan; and, when his own Government suggested this method as a way out of difficulties, the substance of his numerous replies was, "Our relative positions do not justify you in giving me such orders. I can only accept them as your wishes; and the duty I owe to myself, as a God-fearing and an honourable man, prevents me being able to comply with them."

When Gordon telegraphed to Sir E. Baring, "You must see that you could not recall me nor could I possibly obey until the Cairo employés get out from all the places. I have named men to different places, thus involving them with the Mahdi; how could I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled? As a gentleman could you advise this course?" he really telegraphed a bitter rebuke to the English Government; and when he added, "It may have been a mistake to send me up, but, having been done, I have no option but to see evacuation through," he

merely pointed out, what the Government already knew, namely, that the position they had allowed him to accept was one over which they had no legal control, unless they announced the annexation of Egypt. I, therefore, again most emphatically repeat, that Gordon in no instance disobeyed his Government, though he frequently had to tell them how utterly unable he was to execute their wishes. The Governor-General of the Soudan had definite orders from the Khedive, whose servant he was, and these orders could not be capsized by the English Government, unless the Khedive were deposed or Egypt were annexed.

I cannot conclude this portion of my subject in a better way than by quoting what the Khedive said to Baron Malortie, after he had appointed Gordon Governor-General of the Soudan. Speaking of his mission, he remarked:—

I could not give a better proof of my intention than by accepting Gordon as Governor-General with full powers to take whatever steps he may judge best for obtaining the end my Government and Her Majesty's Government have in view. I could not do more than delegate to Gordon my own power and make him irresponsible arbiter of the situation. Whatever he does will be well done, whatever arrangements he will make are accepted in advance, whatever combination he may decide upon will be binding for us; and in thus placing unlimited trust in the Pasha's judgment I have only made one condition: *that he should provide for the safety of the Europeans and the Egyptian civilian element.* He is now the supreme master, and my best wishes accompany him on a mission of such gravity and importance, for *my heart aches at the thought of the thousands of loyal adherents whom a false step may doom to destruction.* I have no doubt that Gordon Pasha

will do his best to sacrifice as few as possible; and, should he succeed, with God's help, in accomplishing the evacuation of Kartoum and the chief ports in the Eastern Soudan, he will be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of my people, who at present tremble that help may come too late. To tell you that he will succeed is more than I or any mortal could prognosticate, for there are tremendous odds against him. But let us hope for the best, and, as far as I and my Government are concerned, he shall find the most loyal and energetic support.*

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The points I have already dwelt upon are all-important for the correct interpretation of what Gordon says in his Journals. There are now two other questions, with which I must deal. The first of these is "To what extent were H.M.Government morally bound to support Gordon?" The answer is to be found in the conditions laid down in the Khedive's Firman, which H.M.Government endorsed. Mr. Gladstone admitted as much in the House of Commons on Feb. 14th, when he said: "The direct actions and direct functions in which General Gordon is immediately connected with this Government are, I think, pretty much absorbed in the greater duties of the large mission he has undertaken under the immediate authority of the Egyptian Government, *with the full moral and political responsibility of the British Government*." Therefore we owed the same kind of responsibility to Gordon as it owed to Egypt, moral and political. Gordon shows in his Journals what brought about our responsibility to Egypt. First, we were morally to blame for General Hicks's defeat, for had we prevented the Fellaheen conscripts being dragged in

* From *Pall Mall Gazette* extra, "Too Late," No. 14.

chains from their homes, and sent up to recruit Hicks's army, Hicks would not have left Kartoum, and his troops would not have been annihilated. Through this disaster we became morally responsible for the extended influence of the Mahdi, who, previous to crushing a huge army, had merely defeated small detachments of troops far inferior to his own. It was the crushing of Hicks's force which led the Mahdi to put forth his agents in all parts of the Soudan, and thus to convert a trumpery local rising into a wide-spreading rebellion. So much for our responsibility from a moral point of view. Our political responsibility began with the order to abandon the Soudan (which was unnecessary interference on our part, inasmuch as the Soudan was practically lost), and was followed up by our objection to the despatch of Egyptian or Turkish troops, our sending Gordon, and our operations for the relief of Tokar and Sinkat. Right through we forced the hand of the Khedive. Why did we not go one step further and force him to cancel the Firman by which he appointed Gordon Governor-General of the Soudan? Had we done this, Gordon would have reverted to his original position as reporter to Her Majesty's Government, or he could have endeavoured to leave Kartoum at once, as his responsibilities towards the people of the Soudan would have ceased. Until we did this we were as responsible to him, morally and politically, as we were to the Egyptian Government. A little decision here might have spared to us Gordon, Colonel Stewart, and Mr. Power; might have prevented the loss of thousands of other lives; might have saved us millions of money.

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I am only endeavouring to place Gordon's situation and action in a fair light, and I cannot do this without pointing out how greatly England has been to blame in not accepting a responsibility for which she made herself liable. This brings me directly to the second question, which deals with the reason why Gordon, with the promised support of Egypt and England, failed not only to restore order to the Soudan, but even to extricate the beleaguered garrisons. Volumes have been already written on this subject, and there are probably volumes yet to come, particularly those representing that Journal by Gordon and Colonel Stewart, which was captured by a treacherous enemy, and is now supposed to be in the hands of Mahomet Achmet, the Mahdi. I will content myself then with an endeavour to supply what I feel is the substance of the answer to be found, in this missing Journal, to the question I have raised. *Gordon was constantly thwarted and never supported* is the summary of a whole which I will give in detail as briefly as I can.

(1) Gordon wished to visit the Mahdi if he thought fit, but Sir E. Baring gave him a positive order from Her Majesty's Government that he was on no account to do so. Of course, as I have already shown, Gordon, in his position as Governor-General, need not have accepted this as an order, but he was, as he always has been, most anxious to conform to the wishes or desires expressed by Her Majesty's Government, when those wishes affected only a point of judgment, and not a point of duty or a point of honour.

(2) Gordon proposed to go direct from Kartoum to the Bahr Gazelle and Equatorial Provinces, but Her

Majesty's Government refused to sanction his proceeding beyond Kartoum.

(3) Gordon desired 3000 Turkish troops, in British pay, to be sent to Suakin, but Her Majesty's Government, advised by Sir E. Baring, who disapproved of the measure, declined to send these troops.

(4) Gordon, being convinced that some government was essential for the safety of the Soudan, suggested the appointment of Zubair as his successor, and gave the most cogent reasons why it was absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of his mission that the appointment should be made. He reiterated his request over and over again from February to December. Her Majesty's Government would not permit the Khedive to make this appointment.

(5) Gordon requested that in the interests of England, Egypt, and the Soudan, he should be provided with a Firman which recognised a moral control and suzerainty over the Soudan. This was peremptorily refused.

(6) Gordon asked for Indian Moslem troops to be sent to Wady Halfa. They were refused him.

(7) In March Gordon desired 100 British troops to be sent to Assouan or to Wady Halfa. In making know this desire to Her Majesty's Government, Sir E. Baring said he would not risk sending so small a body, and the principal medical officer said the climate would exercise an injurious effect on the troops. These troops were not sent.

(8) Gordon, for the sake of everything and everybody concerned, showed that the Mahdi's power must be smashed. Her Majesty's Government declined to assist in, or even to countenance, the process.

(9) Gordon, in a series of eleven telegrams, explained his difficulties, and said that if Her Majesty's Government would not send British troops to Wady Halfa, an adjutant to inspect Dongola, and then open up the Berber-Suakin route by Indian Moslem troops, they would probably have to decide between Zubair or the Mahdi, and he concluded these telegrams by saying he would do his best to carry out his instructions, *but felt convinced he would be caught in Kartoum.* Sir Evelyn Baring, in his reply to these telegrams, recommended Gordon *to reconsider the whole question carefully, and then to state in one telegram what he recommended!*

(10) Gordon telegraphed: "*The combination of Zubair and myself is an absolute necessity for success. To do any good we must be together, and that without delay;*" and he supplemented this by another telegram, saying: "*Believe me, I am right; and do not delay.*" The combination was not permitted.

(11) Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed to Lord Granville that General Gordon *had on several occasions* pressed for 200 British troops to be sent to Wady Halfa, but that he (Baring) did not think it desirable to comply with the request.

(12) Gordon desired a British diversion at Berber, but Sir Evelyn Baring replied that there was no intention to send an English force to Berber.

(13) Gordon, foiled on every point, telegraphed a graceful adieu to Her Majesty's Government. Then came the fall of Berber, upon which Sir Evelyn Baring at once telegraphed to Lord Granville that it *had now become of the utmost importance not only to open the road between Suakin and Berber, but "to come to terms*

with the tribes between Berber and Kartoum"; and Lord Granville telegraphed to Sir E. Baring that "*General Gordon had several times suggested a movement on Wady Halfa, which might support him by threatening an advance on Dongola, and, under the present circumstances at Berber, this might be found advantageous.*"!!

After this, may we not well echo Gordon's sentiments, "What a farce if it did not deal with men's lives"? If Gordon, instead of being *thwarted*, had only been *not supported*, how different might have been the result of his mission to the Soudan! Indeed, one may say how different *would* have been the result! for Gordon has practically said this, and he was a competent and a reliable judge. If England and Egypt had only said, "We will give you no help at all; do what you can with the material you have about you, and do not refer to us until you have succeeded, or until you have failed," I confidently believe Gordon would have at least relieved the beleagured garrisons of the Soudan, and would have sent down all who wished to leave the country. His weakness was that of trustfulness—the besetting weakness of an honourable man: it had stood him in good stead through his campaigns in China, and through his previous operations in the Soudan; through terrible sufferings which had often made him wish for death. Then he trusted enemies, and they always enabled him to save life. Now he trusted friends, and they only enabled him to die.

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"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones."

Gordon tells us plainly in his Journals how great is the evil done by the policy of Her Majesty's Govern-

ment, and for how long that evil will live when the Government is dead. Is it not possible to avert something of what is about to happen? Her Majesty's Government are, I believe, beginning to realise how thoroughly correct Gordon was in his views, and how mistaken they were in not following his advice at the time he gave it. At all events after he was dead they expressed their intention of doing much he recommended while he lived. They have been always very late: too late to save Gordon's life, and too late to save the lives of many thousands. May they not be yet in time to prevent some of the evil that must live after them? I think Gordon tells them in his Journals they may, and I think he also tells them how. It is impossible to read carefully what he says without feeling that he did not expect to live long, and that he had a distinct presentiment he would die at Kartoum. At all events there is a strong undercurrent of this presentiment all through, and it even rises to the surface every now and then when he appears to be taking a hopeful and almost a cheerful view of the situation. At times it carries all before it, as for example when he emphasises the possibility of the fall of Kartoum under the nose of the expedition, and again in the words with which he concludes his sixth and last volume; but then, on the other hand, it is often quite out of sight, especially at such times as he is discussing his position as Governor-General, and turning over in his mind the expediency of appointing Lord Wolseley or Sir Evelyn Baring as his successor. But, whether on the surface or deep down, I think it is always there, and I feel sure that some of his numerous efforts at a solution of the Soudan problem were in-

tended as final instructions for Her Majesty's Government, to be read after his death or after the fall of Kartoum. The days of prophecy are gone, and I do not at all wish to place Gordon in the light of the ancient orthodox and professional seer, but in considering his career one cannot avoid being struck by the remarkable way in which the lost gift of prophecy has been replaced by the power of combining knowledge with judgment. It would be well if Her Majesty's Government would bear this in mind, and lay down a distinct line of policy and action with regard to the Soudan, which should be based upon what Gordon recommends. The recall of the troops from the Soudan may have been necessary to meet the exigencies of the moment, or it may not; but it is a pity it did not precede Lord Wolseley's letter to Cassim el Mousse Pasha:—

We mean to destroy the power of Mohammed Achmet at Kartoum, no matter how long it may take us to do so; you know Gordon Pasha's countrymen *are not likely to turn back from any enterprise they have begun until it has been fully accomplished.* When that happy event takes place I hope to be able to establish you amongst your own people, and that you and all others will realise that the *English nation does not forget those who serve it faithfully.**

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General Gordon's Journals are sufficiently characteristic to enable those who read them with care to know their author perfectly. The first volume is alone a very complete introduction, in which each succeeding page brings you to a closer intimacy. If a friendship is not established before reaching the sixth, then

* *Egypt*, No. 9, Encl. 3, 43.

all that is noble and chivalrous in man can have no charm. Examples of his rare genius, his nobility, his honesty and his marvellous energy are to be found throughout, but, in pointing out a few characteristics, I will confine myself to the first volume, as I propose to refer chiefly to special points of military and political interest in the others.

In this first volume then we have an interesting instance of Gordon's nobility, when he declines to have anything to do with certain doubtful proposals made by the apostate Europeans in the Mahdi's camp, for he declares "treachery never succeeds; and it is better to fail with clean hands than to be mixed up with dubious acts and dubious men. Maybe it is better to fall with honour than to gain the victory with dishonour, and in this view the Ulemas are agreed, for they will have nought to do with the proposals of treachery."

The generosity of his feeling towards the enemy is shown when he says: "I do not call our enemy rebels, for it is a vexed question whether we are not rebels, seeing I hold the Firman restoring the Soudan to its chiefs." His consideration is apparent in his regret at not being more considerate; and his tolerance in the desire to spare even the lives of traitors.

His views on hypocrisy are humorously expressed when he is speaking of the Mahdi's trick of bringing tears to his eyes by the use of pepper under his finger-nails, and, as tears are considered a proof of sincerity, he recommends the recipe to Cabinet Ministers who wish to justify some job.

His severity is evident in his remarks on diplomatists, whom he considers most unsatisfactory men to

have anything to do with in their official capacity; and his irritability peeps out when he says: "Egerton must have considered I was a complete idiot to have needed permission to contract with tribes to escort down the refugees. I hope he will get promoted, and will not be blamed for overstraining his instructions."

His religious earnestness is everywhere apparent, and he delights in endeavours to interpret Scriptural passages, especially such as are more or less paradoxical.

As an example of his humility I select the passage where he says: "If we will be with our Master we must be like Him, who from His birth to His death may be said to have been utterly miserable as far as things in this world are concerned. Yet I kick at the least obstacle to my will." His desire to help every one is to be seen on almost every page, and his forethought, energy and judgment are also everywhere. His notions of chivalry do not permit him to countenance the distribution of honours to men who only do what he considers to be their duty, and he does not approve of the Victoria Cross being given in cases of *noblesse oblige.*

His determination often prompts him to speak very plainly: "If you remove me from being Governor-General, then all responsibility is off me; but if you keep me as Governor-General then I will, *at the cost of my commission* in Her Majesty's service, see all refugees out of this country." His satire is generally severe, but there is nearly always a cheerful or a good-natured ring in it. The following is a fair example:—

I am sure I should like that fellow Egerton; there is a big-hearted jocularity about his communications, and I should think the cares of life sat easily on him. He wishes to know exactly, "day, hour, and minute," that I expect to be in difficulties as to provisions and ammunition.

Now I really think if Egerton was to turn over the "archives" (a delicious word) of his office, he would see we had been in difficulties for provisions for some months. It is as a man on the bank, having seen his friend in river already bobbed down two or three times, hails, "I say, old fellow, let us know when we are to throw you the life-buoy; I know you have bobbed down two or three times, but it is a pity to throw you the life-buoy until you really are *in extremis*, and I want to know *exactly*, for I am a man brought up in a school of exactitude, though I did *forget* (?) to date my June telegram about *that Bedouin escort contract*."

He is a strict disciplinarian, and never hesitates to rebuke laxness in others. "If Abdel Kader is at Kassala," * he says, "what on earth are our people about not to tell me! for of course I could help him. We seem to have lost our heads in the Intelligence Department, though it costs enough money."

His bluntness and honesty are often combined with subtle humour, and an excellent notion of all three may be gathered from the last words in this volume of the Journals:—

As for "*evacuation*," it is one thing; as for "*ratting out*," it is another. I am quite of advice as to No. 1 (as we have not the decision to keep the country), but I will be no party to No. 2 (this "rat" business), 1st, because it is *dishonourable;* 2nd, because it is not *possible* (which will have more weight); therefore, if it is going to be No. 2, *the troops had better not*

* General Gordon had been incorrectly informed by his spies about Abdel Kader, who had not left Cairo.

come beyond Berber till the question of what will be done is settled.

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The interest of the second volume is great from a military point of view, but its value is somewhat lessened by the fact that Gordon's instructions and suggestions were based on the assumption that the relieving force would reach him some two months earlier than it did. During those two months the conditions around Kartoum materially changed, and with these altering conditions Gordon had to reconsider many of the manœuvres he at first suggested. The political interest chiefly consists in the strong recommendation that the country should be given to the Turks, or that Zubair should be established as Governor-General at Kartoum, and that the Equator should be given to himself. "I will (D.V.) keep it," he says, "from Zubair;" that is to say, he will guard the country against all slave-hunters. In this volume Gordon declines the imputation that the Expeditionary Force has come for him, and shows how, to save our national honour, it has come to extricate the garrisons of the Soudan. Of the troubles these garrisons were causing him we get a fair notion, but his complaints seem to be only a safety-valve for his humour. He knows the men about him are treacherous and liars, but he almost seeks excuse for them when he says: "Man is essentially a treacherous animal; and although the Psalmist said in *his haste* 'all men are liars,' I think he might have said the same at his leisure." This volume concludes with a new effort to solve the Soudan problem by suggesting the Khedive should replace him at once by appointing Abdel Kader Governor-General.

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This solution is fully discussed in the opening of Vol. III. It is not one in which Gordon will participate, but it may prevent his being antagonistic to the relieving force. Unless he is deposed nothing will induce him to leave the Soudan until he can extricate the garrisons. In removing him from the Governor-Generalship and in replacing him by Abdel Kader, the Government would be utilising a man whom they could mould to their own shape. Of course this solution was, as Gordon says, in some degree "a trap," but it recommended itself as the only way out of the difficulty, if the Government decided to abandon the garrisons.

The only creditable solution, Gordon still affirms, is to be found in handing the country over to the Turks with a subsidy or a sum down; and he supplements his argument by a programme showing how by this action Her Majesty's troops could leave the Soudan with honour before January 1885. "I think this would read well in history," he says. "Her Majesty's Government, having accepted duties in Egypt, and consequently in the Soudan, sent up a force to restore tranquillity, which having been done, Her Majesty's Government handed over the government of the Soudan to the Sultan." The necessity for this solution is the result, in Gordon's opinion, of the indecisions of Her Majesty's Government, and he enumerates with great care the causes which have hampered his action and thus required the despatch of a relieving force. This volume is perhaps more cheerful in its tone than any of the others. The presentiment that the expedition will be too late to prevent disaster is rarely evi-

dent, and the advance of the Mahdi promises to decide, at all events, the fate of those who are shut up in Kartoum. "A month will see him defeated or victorious, as God may will it," and with this philosophical consolation Gordon ceases to discuss the future of the Soudan, and begins an interesting detailed account of the offensive and defensive manœuvres which are taking place in and around Kartoum.

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In the fourth volume—the shortest of all—Gordon continues his narrative of events, and shows how numerous and how wearisome are the internal troubles with which he has to contend at Kartoum. Treachery is silently at work, while indolence, selfishness, and dishonesty make those who are not treacherous almost useless. He is the referee of every petty dispute, as much as he is chief justice, administrator, and commander-in-chief. The people demand his decision on every point, political or personal, and wish to leave it to him to do or not to do, irrespective of his knowing anything of the merits of the case they bring before him. His counsellers say: "Do what you think right, you will do better than we;" and his reflection is, "I, poor devil, do not know where to turn." Then in sorrow he exclaims, "Oh, our Government, our Government! What has it not to answer for? Not to *me*, but to these poor people. I declare if I thought the town wished the Mahdi I would give it up: so much do I respect free will." It is doubtless these internal troubles which lead him to say: "It is of course on the cards that Kartoum is taken under the nose of the Expeditionary Force, which will be just *too late*.

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In Vol. V., which begins on the first day of the Arab New Year, the arrival of the Mahdi at Omdurman is reported. The treachery referred to in the previous volume had led General Gordon to make numerous arrests—a necessity he deplored; but these arrests in all probability saved the fall of Kartoum on October 21st, for the Mahdi had evidently speculated on either a rising in the town on that day, or on the gates being opened to him by some of those who were then imprisoned. On this day Gordon also received the news of the treaty concluded between King John of Abyssinia and Admiral Sir William Hewitt, and his anger at the injustice of such a treaty is as apparent as is the bitterness of his satire: throughout the whole volume, indeed, he cannot get away from this subject, and, though the frequent effort to dismiss it in disgust from his mind is evident, he continually reverts to it. He considers it discreditable, and does not hesitate to say so. Moreover, he contends that by the Treaty of Paris, and also by that of Berlin, the integrity of the Ottoman Dominion is guaranteed by the Powers, and that it is therefore a farce to say Egypt ceded Kassala.

His views on the whole policy of Her Majesty's Government are summed up in an imaginary scene in the House of Lords. "The noble Marquis asked what the policy of Her Majesty's Government was? It was as if he asked the policy of a log floating down stream —*it was going to sea*, as any one with an ounce of brains could see. Well, that was the policy of it, only it was a decided policy, and a straightforward one to drift along and take advantage of every circumstance. His lordship deprecated the frequent questioning on

subjects which his lordship had said he knew nothing about, and, further, did not care to know anything about."

Fielding, had he been alive, would have envied Gordon the completeness of this humorous satire. The results of the policy, as far as it has gone, he shows to have been the loss of some 80,000 lives and the effectual restoration of the slave-trade and of slave-hunting: "a miserable end to diplomacy when it would have been so easy in 1880 to have settled the Soudan with decency and quiet, giving up Kordofan, Darfur, the Bahr Gazelle, and the Equator."

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In the latter part of Vol. V., but especially in the early part of Vol. VI., Gordon fully realises the *Abbas* catastrophe. He knows Stewart and Power are dead. There is no expression of personal regret, though he is "sorry for their friends." He loved them both, and he pays the highest tribute he can to their merits; but he is sure that in their present they are happier than in their past. Moreover, he had done his best, for every precaution human foresight could conceive he had taken; having done this, the rest was in the hands of God, and the disaster was "ordained." But these views do not prevent him from courting all inquiry; and he even holds a court-martial on himself. His verdict is, that if the *Abbas* was attacked and over-powered, *he is to blame;* but that if she was captured by treachery, or if she struck a rock, *he is not to blame.* In the one case he should have foreseen the chance, and prevented her going; in the others he could fore-see nothing. It was out of his power to avert treachery;

and the *Abbas* drew under two feet of water, and was accompanied by two sailing boats.

He explains with care and clearness why Stewart and Power left him; they went of their free will, not by his order; for he would not "put them in any danger in which he was not himself." If they went they did him a service, for they could telegraph his views; if they stayed, they could not help him. They could go in honour, for they had promised the people nothing; he could not go in honour, for he had promised them himself. If Gordon were alive, and thought any one could misinterpret what he says, and thus cast a slur on the memory of either Stewart or Power, he would be greatly pained. His love and admiration for them both was evident; and he knew that, had it been their duty to remain, they would have stayed to die with him at Kartoum. "If Zubair had been sent in March, when I asked for him, we would not have lost Berber, and would never have wanted an expedition;" and, if Berber had not fallen, Stewart and Power would have been alive. Zubair had been his almost first request, and he never ceases to regret that one who had devoted his life to the Soudan should not have been allowed to comprehend its requirements better than those who sat in Downing Street.

Within a week of beginning this volume of his Journal, Gordon expected the town of Kartoum to fall; the recovery of an enormous quantity of stolen biscuit enabled him to hold his own for more than another month. During this time a notion of his troubles may be gathered from what he says up to December 14th; his real suffering must for ever remain unknown. That it depended upon the suffering of others

we may feel assured; he never knew what it was to feel for himself. He felt for his country; he felt for all he tried to help, and if he was among such as were killed first, his dying thought would have been, "What is to be the future of all I leave behind?"

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In his Journals—his last words—those familiar with his character and life will see Charles Gordon true to himself to the very end. They will see in him the same ardent passion for justice and for truth; the same scorn for wrong-doing and deceit; the same gentle pity for the sufferings of all, and the same mercy and forgiveness for his foes: and with all this is combined the perfection of humility, and the sense of imperfection. There is no impatience, save with those who wronged his honour and the poor people for whom he died; there is no unrest, for he neared that "life of action" for which he had long yearned; there is no sorrow, no dark doubt, for Charles Gordon was with his God.

A. Egmont Hake.

GENERAL GORDON'S POSITION AT KARTOUM.

Only a very few words on my part are necessary in laying these Journals before the public.

On New Year's Day, 1884, General Gordon arrived at Brussels from the Holy Land, and at once commenced his arrangements with His Majesty the King of the Belgians to proceed to the Congo.

After visiting England once or twice, he left this country for Belgium and the Congo on the morning of the 16th January.

On the 17th January he was recalled by telegram. He reached London on the morning of the 18th, and was on his road to Kartoum upon that evening.

At this time, he felt quite confident of success, his instructions being that, by restoring the ancient families, whose territories had been seized by the Egyptian authorities, to their former power, he would be able to extricate the Egyptian garrisons and civil *employés* with their families, and remove them to Lower Egypt without difficulty.

During the voyage, however, from Brindisi to Port Said he prepared a Report, or Memorandum, dated 22nd January, in which, reviewing these instructions, he drew attention to some of the difficulties and complications which were likely to arise in carrying out the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and asked for their support and consideration in case of his being unable to fulfil their expectations with exactness; and Colonel Stewart, in his separate observations of the same date, pointed out that, in view of eventualities for

which it would be impossible to provide, the wisest course was "to rely on the discretion of General Gordon and his knowledge of the country."

General Gordon, it will be seen, accepted—and disclaimed the right to express any opinion of his own upon it—the policy of leaving the Soudan. It appeared to him then that to reconquer that country and restore it to the Egyptian Government without securities for a just and honest administration would be iniquitous; that, on the other hand, to secure that object would involve an expenditure of time and money which could not be afforded, and consequently he then came to the conclusion that the Soudan might properly be restored to independence, and left to itself.

It will be seen, however, that he did not, after his return to the Soudan, remain long of that opinion. His heart warmed at once to the people whom he had faithfully governed, and whose affections he found, or at all events believed, were constant to him.

It is necessary here to explain that General Gordon had not intended to go to Cairo, but to proceed *viâ* Suakin and Berber. On the invitation, however, of Sir Evelyn Baring, he went to Cairo and accepted at the hands of the Khedive a firman appointing him Governor-General of the Soudan, without which he could have exercised no control over the Egyptian authorities employed in that province.

It was no part of General Gordon's character to form a definite opinion from imperfectly known facts, and to adhere obstinately to that opinion, notwithstanding the evidence of altered circumstances and new elements.

We need not therefore be surprised to find that, on arrival at Abu Hamed, on the 8th February, finding the state of the country to be less disorganised than he had supposed, and adverting to the confusion which must ensue if all traces of the Khedive's Government were suddenly effaced, he made the suggestion that a sort of suzerainty should be kept up, and that the chief officers of the Soudan

should continue to be appointed by the Khedive, a complete and abrupt separation being thus postponed, although the control to be retained would be more nominal than real.

This feeling in General Gordon's mind grew rapidly stronger as time went on. When he reached Berber he saw still more clearly the position he was in, and became impressed with the impossibility of carrying out his mission with credit, unless he was able to secure to the provinces of the Soudan some sort of government in the place of the one it was intended to withdraw.

Accordingly, upon the day of his arrival at Kartoum (the 18th February), General Gordon, after pointing out to the Government the difficulties that surrounded him, inasmuch as the garrisons and *employés* were to be removed, when all form of government would disappear, urged in the strongest terms he could employ that power should be placed in the hands of a single man, and that the man to be chosen should be Zubair Pasha.

Now it may be remarked that although Zubair was one of the most noted slave-hunters that had ever existed, yet his ability and influence could not be surpassed, while even the Khedive could not lay claim to any such proud descent —Zubair being a direct descendant of the Abbassides.

This recommendation was rejected by the Government although renewed over and over again in a most persistent manner by General Gordon, backed up by Sir Evelyn Baring, who, on the 9th March, says: "I believe that Zubair Pasha may be made a bulwark against the approach of the Mahdi. Of course there is a certain risk that he will constitute a danger to Egypt, but this risk is, I think, a small one; and it is in any case preferable to incur it rather than to face the certain disadvantages of withdrawing without making any provision for the future government of the country, which would thus be sure to fall under the power of the Mahdi."

I must admit that, up to the end of July, I was of opinion that if Zubair had been sent up General Gordon's life would

have been in danger. On the other hand, I am aware that a Cabinet Minister of high position was, from the first, in favour of sending Zubair up, and so indeed was Lord Wolseley.

At the beginning of August, General Gordon, having again begged that Zubair might be sent to Kartoum, I used my endeavours to secure the attainment of that object, but without success. It was now apparent that General Gordon could not in honour leave until some form of future government had been determined upon.

Zubair's appointment having been disallowed, the only alternative seemed to be the Turks, and the suggestion was made that they should occupy the Soudan. Anything, in fact, to secure the country against anarchy and its reversion to barbarism.

It must be borne in mind General Gordon did not ask that an expedition should be sent; on the contrary, he deprecated sending any, unless for the purpose of saving the garrisons and of establishing some form of government.

The proposed movement of two squadrons of cavalry from Suakin to Berber is outside the question. It was to save Berber they were applied for, not for the relief of Kartoum. General Gordon's message was, "Send troops (200) to Berber, or you will lose it!" It is fair to Sir Evelyn Baring, to add that on the 24th March he said, "Under present circumstances I think an effort should be made to help General Gordon from Suakin, if it is at all a possible operation."

If General Gordon had known how much in union Sir Evelyn Baring's advice had been with his own, and what support he had received at Sir Evelyn's hands, he would have been eager, had his life been spared, to acknowledge that co-operation.

Before concluding, I must say a few words with respect to the severe comments which occur in places throughout the Diaries, upon the meagre information he received from

the Intelligence Department,* in connection with which the names of Major Chermside and Major Kitchener are mentioned. Now, with regard to the former of these officers, he was at Suakin, and therefore does not come into the question. With respect, however, to Major Kitchener, I am persuaded that he did all in his power to get messengers into Kartoum, for just in the same way General Gordon fancied he got them out; and yet how few succeeded in reaching their destination. In the same way too as General Gordon fancied his messengers had reached, so did Mr. Egerton fancy his had been successful, for at the end of July he hinted that General Gordon could have sent messengers out, in the same way as others had got in, and yet at that date only one had done so. It is due to Major Kitchener to say that from the time he went to Dongola he certainly kept us acquainted with the position of affairs at Kartoum in a manner most reliable, and deserving of much credit.

With these prefatory remarks I leave my brother's Journals to speak for themselves. He shows, to my mind, with the utmost clearness the position in which he was placed, and reiterates over and over again that nothing will induce him to leave Kartoum until he has secured the safety of all those who have stood by him. He says, "I will end these egostistical remarks by saying that no persuasion will induce me to change my views; and that, as to force, it is out of the question, for I have the people with me, at any rate, of the towns which hold out; therefore, if Her Majesty's forces are not prepared to relieve the whole of the garrisons, the General should consider whether it is worth coming up. In his place, if not so prepared, I would not do so. I do not dictate; but I say, what every gentleman in Her Majesty's army would agree to, that it would be mean to leave men, who (though they may not come up to our ideas as heroes)

* This department must not be confounded with the one associated with the Quartermaster-General at the War Office.

have stuck to me, though a Christian dog in their eyes, through great difficulties, and thus force them to surrender to those who have not conquered them, and to do that at the bidding of a foreign Power to save one's own skin. Why, the black sluts would stone me if they thought I meditated such action."

Up to the 14th December General Gordon could have got away at any time, had he been so inclined; in fact, he says, "As for myself, I could make good my retreat at any moment I wished." After that date we know nothing. No doubt Omdurman fell at once, and in all probability the Island of Tuti followed soon after. General Gordon must then have seen that no relief could reach him, provisions were rapidly running out, treachery, as he well knew, was at work, and the end came.

He writes to his sister on the 14th December: "God rules all; and as God will rule to His glory and our welfare, His will be done. I am quite happy, and, like Lawrence, have tried to do my duty."

In conclusion, I will add in General Gordon's own words, "It is, of course, on the cards that Kartoum is taken under the nose of the Expeditionary Force, which will be just too late. The Expeditionary Force will perhaps think it necessary to retake it; but that will be no use, and will cause loss of life uselessly on both sides. It had far better quietly return with its tail between its legs; for, once Kartoum is taken, the sun will have set and the people will not care much for the satellites. If Kartoum falls, then go quietly back to Cairo, for you will only lose men and spend money uselessly in carrying on the campaign."

H. W. GORDON.

THE MISSION OF
COLONEL SIR CHARLES WILSON,

R.E., K.C.M.G.

Very severe criticisms have been made upon the manner in which Sir Charles Wilson carried out the duties that had been entrusted to him, with regard to communicating with General Gordon at Kartoum.

The charges made against him may be with advantage restricted to two:—

First—The delay in not proceeding to Kartoum at the latest on the morning of the 22nd; and

Second—In not having pushed on to Kartoum itself in order to ascertain General Gordon's fate beyond a doubt.

Sir Charles Wilson left England in order to assume the position of Head of the Intelligence Department, and also with the tacit understanding that he was to be specially employed in order to open direct communication with General Gordon.

Having this special object in view, Sir Charles Wilson accompanied Sir Herbert Stewart's force towards the Nile; and, when that gallant and highly-distinguished officer was wounded on the 19th January, he found himself in command.

Now this force, which did not equal a British battalion upon its war strength, was hampered with a number of wounded officers and men, some of whom were with it, while others—the bulk—were in a zereba constructed at some distance in its rear.

Sir Charles Wilson, however, advanced to the Nile, where he bivouacked for the night; and on the morning of the 20th he returned to the zereba, and brought back with him to Gubat the wounded who had been left behind.

Early in the morning of the 21st, General Gordon's steamers appeared, and landed their soldiers, who took part in the operations of that day.

Reports now reached Sir Charles Wilson that, exclusive of the Arabs in the Metemma, large numbers were advancing from the North and from the South. It therefore became imperatively necessary for him to secure the safety of those who were under his orders before he could proceed upon his mission.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd, he made a reconnaissance towards the North, and, finding no enemy, he turned his attention to the South.

The whole of the 23rd was occupied in making arrangements for the proper protection of his force, and he could not have left before the morning of the 24th.

It may here be observed, in confirmation of the report of the Arabs advancing from the south, that Sir Charles Wilson, on his road to Kartoum, saw a body of men at a place on the left bank of the Nile, about twelve miles south of Gubat.

It is really beyond the question to consider what General Gordon's position at this time was at Kartoum. When General Gordon sent down his last journal, on the 14th December, he stated he could not hold out for more than ten days, and he was in daily expectation that the Fort at Omdurman would fall: while even then, with that Fort in his possession, he considered it would be very hazardous for any steamer to attempt to come up to Kartoum. On the 28th November he says: "I hope the officer in command will clear Halfeyeh before he pushes on to this, for he may get a shell from the works at Omdurman (not the Fort) into one of his steamers. I do not like to risk sending the *Bordeen* steamer down to give the warning. If the steamers

do come up, and have not the sense to stop at Halfeyeh, I shall endeavour to warn them. The danger is at the Ras or nose, on the junction of the Blue and White Niles. The proper thing to do would be to clear Halfeyeh camp of the Arabs before coming on here. You could then communicate with Kartoum by land, and avoid running the gauntlet of Arab guns in penny steamboats."

Now if General Gordon so expressed himself on the 28th November, two months before Sir Charles Wilson got to Kartoum, and when the fort at Omdurman and the island of Tuti were both in the General's hands, what must have been the state of affairs when both those positions had fallen and were in the possession of the Arabs?

Returning to Sir Charles Wilson's progress with his detachment of only twenty men, when he got to the point of danger, as pointed out by General Gordon, he found himself under a cross fire of artillery and musketry from all points of the compass, including Kartoum itself. Under such circumstances he had no alternative but to retire, since, had he continued his journey, he could never have secured his retreat.

Consequently I cannot but express my feeling that on neither head of charge does any blame attach to Sir Charles Wilson.

H. W. GORDON.

DESCRIPTION OF THE JOURNAL.

[Lieut.-Colonel Stewart kept a complete journal of events that occurred at Kartoum from the 1st March to the 9th September, upon the night of which day he left.]

General Gordon, who had assisted in great measure in the preparation of this Journal, describes it as a perfect gem.

It was in duplicate, and was captured when Colonel Stewart was murdered; and, according to Slatin Bey's account (who at the time was with the Mahdi), is now in his (the Mahdi's) possession.

General Gordon's Diaries are in six parts.

The First is from the 10th of September to the 23rd of September, and contains 78 pages.

The Second is from the 23rd of September to the 30th of September, and contains 41 pages.

The Third is from the 1st to the 12th of October, and contains 85 pages.

The Fourth is from the 12th to the 20th of October, and contains 32 pages.

The Fifth is from the 20th of October to the 5th of November, and contains 93 pages.

The Sixth is from the 5th of November to the 14th of December, and contains 104 pages.

The First, Second, Third, and Fourth Diaries are addressed to Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, C.M.G., or the Chief of the Staff. The Fifth is addressed to the Chief of the Staff of the Expeditionary Force for the relief of the garrison, and the Sixth is addressed in the same way.

The First and Second Diaries were sent on the 30th of September by steamer for Berber *viâ* Shendy.

The Third was sent by the steamer *Towfikia* on the 12th of October to Metemma.

The Fourth was sent to Shendy in a steamer on the 21st of October.

The Fifth left in the steamer *Bordeen* on the 5th of November for Metemma;

And the Sixth also left in the steamer *Bordeen* on the 15th of December.

Each Diary has the same remarks—sometimes repeated three times, on the outside of the Journal, to the effect that "it should be pruned down prior to publication."

The Journals or Diaries were handed over to Sir Charles Wilson on the 22nd of January, at Metemma, by the officer commanding General Gordon's steamers.

The Journals were, in my opinion, properly considered by the Government as official documents (see letter accompanying the last Journal), and were handed over to me with the remark that, "So far as Her Majesty's Government had a desire in the matter, it was for the publication of the whole Diary; but they did not wish to interfere with my discretion."

The note at the end of the first Journal evidently implies that when the Government have done with the Journals, then Miss Gordon is to have them.

The publication being, therefore, in my hands, I have arranged for their issue in a very nearly entire state, only some six or seven pages being omitted, which contain, in my opinion, no matter of public interest; while, with regard to

names, those who are well acquainted with the affairs of Egypt can fill up the blanks without difficulty.

It is to be hoped that strenuous endeavours may be made in order to obtain Colonel Stewart's Journal, together with those of General Gordon from the 15th of December to the day upon which Kartoum fell, as well as that of the Doctor promised to the *Times*.

The Cairo telegrams alluded to in the Diaries have not been handed over to me.

H. W. GORDON.

POSITION OF THE STEAMERS,

December 14, 1884.

Abbas	Lost with Col. Stewart.
Bordeen	Metemma, took down Journal VI.
Chabeen	In dock, Kartoum.
Fascher	Captured at Berber by Arabs.
Husseinyeh . . .	Sunk off Omdurman.
Ismailia	At Kartoum.
Mahomet Ali . .	Captured up Blue Nile by Arabs.
Mansowrah . . .	Metemma or Shendy.
Monsuhania . . .	Captured at Berber by Arabs.
Saphia	Metemma or Shendy.
Talataween . . .	Ditto ditto.
Towfikia	Ditto ditto.
Zubair	Kartoum.

Résumé—

Lost	5
At Kartoum	3—1 in dock.
At Metemma waiting for Lord Wolseley	5
	—
	13

BOOK I.

On outside wrapper (*a glass-cloth*):

No secrets as far as I am concerned.

C. G. GORDON.

LT.-COLONEL STEWART, C.M.G.

or

Chief of the Staff, LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B.
Soudan Expeditionary Force.

JOURNAL OF EVENTS—KARTOUM, VOL. I.

From 10th Sept. to 23rd Sept., 1884.

On Cover at back:

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL

From the 10 to 23rd September, 1884.

N.B.—This Journal will want *pruning out* if thought necessary to publish.

C. G. GORDON.
10/9/84.

JOURNAL.

Vide note as to pruning down on outside.—C. G. G.

September 10.—Colonel Stewart, MM. Power and Herbin, left during the night for Dongola, *viâ* Berber.

Spy came in from south front, and one from Halfeyeh reports Arabs will not attack, but will continue the blockade.

Sent off two sets of telegrams by a spy, who will go to Shendy.

Yesterday, when the messenger went out to deliver my answer to the Arabs, in response to Mahdi's letter, though he had a white flag, they fired on him, and tried to capture him. They use the white flag, and find it respected by us, and that we let their men go back. They chain any men we send to them.

It is wonderful how the people of the town, who have every possible facility to leave the city, cling to it, and how, indeed, there are hundreds who flock in, though it is an open secret we have neither money nor food.* Somehow this makes me feel confident

* The military, civilians, Ulemas, inhabitants and settlers in Kartoum telegraphed on August 19th to the Khedive as follows: "Weakened and reduced to extremities, God in His mercy sent Gordon Pasha to us in the midst of our calamities of the siege, and

in the future, for it is seldom that an impulse such as this acts on each member of a disintegrated mass without there being some reason for it, which those who act have no idea of, but which is a sort of instinct. Truly I do not think one could inflict a greater punishment on an inhabitant of Kartoum than to force him to go to the Arabs.

Halfeyeh reports that Faki Mustapha, who was in command of the Arabs on the west or left bank of the White Nile, wishes to join the Government. He is informed we are glad of it, but wish him to remain quiet, and to take no active part till he sees how the scales of the balance go; if we rise, then he can act, if we fall he is not to compromise himself; but what we ask him is to send up our spies, which he can do without risk.* The same advice was given to the people of Shendy, who wished to issue out and attack Berber.

The runaways of Tuti** wish to come back, which is allowed.

we should all have perished of hunger and been destroyed. But we, sustained by his intelligence and great military skill, have been preserved in Kartoum until now."—*Egypt*, *No.* 35, *p.* 112; see also *Appendix AB*.—ED.

* In this passage we have an example of the old and perfect fairness with which General Gordon dealt with others. Before allowing Mustapha Faki, the neutral, to join his ranks and aid him against the Mahdi, he must first himself be satisfied that such a step would not endanger Faki Mustapha's life. Success or failure was still doubtful. This, of course, he could not tell Mustapha, but would it be right and just to use him while such a doubt existed? Gordon was of opinion that it would not, and thus he bade Mustapha wait events, and do for him that only which involved no risks.—ED.

** Tuti is an island at the junction of the White and Blue Nile. —ED.

The "matches" used for the mines are all finished, and we are obliged to go back to powder hose, and unite the mines in families of ten.

Rows on rows of wire entanglement are being placed around the lines. General Gordon's horse was captured by the Arabs in the defeat of El foun; the other staff horse got a cut on the head, but is now all right.

The Mahdi is still at Rahad.* The answer to his letter (*vide* Colonel Stewart's journal) was sent open, so that the Arab leaders could read its contents.

With respect to letters written to the Mahdi and to the Arab chiefs, commenting on the apostacy of Europeans, they may, and are, no doubt, hard, but it is not a small thing for a European, for fear of death, to deny our faith; it was not so in old times, and it should not be regarded as if it was taking off one coat, and putting on another. If the Christian faith is a myth, then let men throw it off, but it is mean and dishonourable to do so merely to save one's life if one believes it is the true faith. What can be more strong than these words, "He who denies Me on earth I will deny in heaven." The old martyrs regarded men as their enemies, who tried to prevent them avowing their faith. In the time of Queens Mary and Elizabeth, what men we had, and then it was for less than here, for it was mainly the question of the Mass, while here it is the question of the denial of our Lord and of his passion. It is perhaps as well to omit this, if this journal is published, for no man has a right to judge another. Politically and morally, however, it is better for us not to have anything to do with the

* Near El Obeyed and about 200 miles from Kartoum.—ED.

apostate Europeans in the Arab camp. Treachery never succeeds, and, however matters may end, it is better to fall with clean hands, than to be mixed up with dubious acts and dubious men. Maybe it is better for us to fall with honour, than to gain the victory with dishonour, and in this view the Ulemas of the town are agreed; they will have nought to do with the proposals of treachery.

No doubt the letters to the Arabs will make the Arab chiefs work on the Europeans with them, to take an active part against us, by saying to those Europeans, "You are cast out;" but the Arabs will never trust them really, so they can do little against us.

We had a regular gaol delivery to-day, letting out some fifty, and are sending to the Arabs about nine prisoners whom it is not advisable to keep in the town. A donkey quietly grazing near the north fort, exploded one of the mines there (an iron alembic which belonged to the time of Mahomet Ali, and had been used for the reduction of gold; it held some 10 lbs. of powder); the donkey, angry and surprised, walked off unhurt! It is extraordinary that after a good deal of rain, and three months' exposure, the domestic matchbox should have retained its vitality.

The school here is most interesting, as the scholars get a certain ration. It is always full, viz., two hundred. Each boy has a wooden board, on which his lesson is written, and on visiting it the object of each boy is to be called out to read his lesson, which they do with a swaying motion of body, and in a sing-song way, like the Jews do at the wailing place at Jerusalem and in their synagogues, from which we may infer this was the ancient way of worship, for the lessons are

always from the Koran. Little black doves with no pretension to any nose, and not more than two feet high, push forward to say the first ten letters of the alphabet, which is all they know.

We have completed the census (*vide* Colonel Stewart's Journal),* and have 34,000 people in the town.

September 11.—Stewart's steamers, which had been delayed at Halfeyeh** owing to some machinery accident, left last night for Berber.*** Spy reports that one of captured steamers at Berber is disabled by the Arabs.

When Cuzzi† came to the lines yesterday, the officer Hassan Bey made him walk over on his knees in order to pass into lines, pointing out to him that the lines were thickly spread with fearful mines. Cuzzi asked what one would do when the Nile fell, and was told that these new mines would be put down as the river fell. Hassan Bey put Cuzzi into a hut, and questioned him as to the whereabouts of the Mahdi. He said first he was at Duem,†† and when pressed he agreed the Mahdi was in Kordofan, and had not moved. He said the Mahdi had not more than two regiments; that he had lost heavily in fighting the

* *Vide* Sir Henry Gordon's Prefatory Note.—Ed.

** A small town eight miles north of Kartoum.—Ed.

*** Berber is about 200 miles from Kartoum.—Ed.

† English Consular Agent at Berber. According to M. Herbin's telegram from Kartoum received by M. Barrère on 22nd September, 1884, Cuzzi had gone to Kordofan, but whether free or as a prisoner was not stated.—*Egypt, No.* 35 (1884), *No.* 142.—Ed.

†† Duem is a town on the White Nile about 100 miles from Kartoum.—Ed.

mountain tribes of Nubia, and had not much ammunition left; that Waled a Goun had some 200 regulars with him, 10 mountain guns, and 2 Krupps, but only 5 boxes of mountain gun ammunition, and 3 boxes of Krupp, and 5 boxes of Remington. (The Arabs captured at our defeat at El foun 75,000 rounds, so that will help them.) Waled a Goun wanted to go to Giraffe, where Abou Gugliz was defeated, but Abou Gugliz said it would never do. Cuzzi looked pretty miserable. Outside the lines were three Arabs and Zarada (a Greek); they waited for Cuzzi. Soon after Cuzzi had left for the Arab camp, two dervishes came in with the Mahdi's letter (*vide* Colonel Stewart's Journal), and a dervish dress from the Mahdi to me. They were given the letters I had received for Slatin for Cairo, and my answer to the Arabs; also the horse head-stall which Abou Gugliz had lost, at which they were amused, and went off to the Arab camp. I sent out my letter in answer to the Mahdi (*vide* Colonel Stewart's Journal) with a slave, upon whom they fired. *Talataween* and *Bordeen* left for Sennaar this morning to bring down dhoora.* Letter written to the Sheikh el Obeyed** proposing "we should mutually remain quiet, &c., &c., with relation to one another, as we are rendering the country a desert."

Jer. XVII. 5. "Cursed (*thus saith the Lord*) is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord;" therefore *cursed is he of the Lord*, who hopes by any arrangement of forces, or by exterior help, to be relieved from

* A cereal very much resembling Indian corn.—ED.

** The Sheikh el Obeyed declared for the Mahdi in March 1884.

the position we are in. Jer. XVII. 7. "Blessed (thus saith the Lord) is he that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is," therefore blessed is he "of the Lord" who makes all his arrangements of forces, without any reliance on such arrangements, or on any exterior help, but trusts in the Lord.* How impossible for man alone to accept these views, for with what heart can he make his arrangements if he does not trust in their success! Curious verses, Ezekiel XXIX. 10-14,** as to Egypt being waste for forty years from the Tower of Syene (Assouan) to frontier of Ethiopia; it is certainly the Soudan which is meant, and it is in a fair way of being a desert.

* At first sight there might seem something of a contradiction in these sentiments, but, when weighed, they will be found consistent and sound. They convey an idea which was constantly at work in General Gordon's mind, and this to the effect that man should make every effort towards the attainment of perfection, and then, and not till then, leave the issue to God; that he should, in fact, draw on all earthly resources—as the instrument of God—and that, these exhausted, he should then look to Heaven for aid not to be drawn from earth.—ED.

** "Behold, therefore I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia.

"No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years.

"And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries."

"Yet thus saith the Lord God; at the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered:

"And I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation; and they shall be there a base kingdom."—ED.

A Dervish came in with a letter from Abdel Kader, the Sheikh on the White Nile, which, with answer, is annexed;* he also brought a letter from the messengers who brought in the Mahdi's letter on 9th September (*vide* Col. Stewart's Journal). They said they had not received my answer, which it will be remembered was sent out by a slave, whom they fired upon. This man also brought in a letter from a Greek, Calamatino,** who begs to come in and tell me important news for all Europe. His letter and my answer are annexed.

It will be noticed that Cuzzi adds "he is going to Berber to-day," so he may meet with Stewart. They might have gone down together had they mutually have known of one another's departure.

A soldier captured at Obeyed came in, and reports that his comrades would come in *en masse* if we would let them come at night. Abou Gugliz denies that the head-stall I sent to him is his.

I put down our defeat on the Dem or head-quarters of Sheikh el Obeyed to two things—1. A lot of Kartoum pedlars went out to loot, and they broke the square. 2. Mahomet Ali Pasha captured a lad of twelve or fourteen years of age, and the little chap spoke out boldly, and said he believed Mahomet Achmet was the Mahdi, and that we were dogs. He was shot! Before I heard of our defeat I heard of this, and I thought "THAT will not pass unavenged." There was an old belief among old Christians that every event which happens on earth is caused by some action being taken in heaven; the action in heaven being the cause of the event on earth, *vide* Revelations,

* Appendix A and A 1. ** Appendix B.

when at the opening of seals the trumpet sounds, &c., &c., all events exercised in heaven are followed by events on earth. This being the case, how futile are our efforts to turn things out of their course. Vials are poured out on earth whence events happen. To me, it seems little what those events may be, but that the great object of our lives is how we bear those events in our individuality. If we trust in the flesh, thus saith the Lord, we are cursed; if we trust in Him we are blessed. I cannot think that there are any promises for answers to prayer made for temporal things; the promises are to hear prayer, and to give strength to bear with quiet what may be the Will of God. A vial is poured on earth; events happen; one is furious with the British Government for these events; but if we were logical, we should be furious with the pourer out of the vial, and that we shrink from being, for He is the Almighty who pours out the vial.

This afternoon another mine blew up at Tuti; the victim was another donkey, who, however, did not get off so well as his colleague of the North Fort, for he lost his hind quarters, and was killed.—R. I. P.

We cannot help thinking something has happened in Europe of a startling nature, and which is known to the Arabs in an indistinct way, for they evidently look on the game as theirs, and that without fighting, of which they show no sign. Abou Gugliz (in remonstrating with Waled a Goun, who wished to descend the river) told him "that his forts were better than any at Cairo, but that the soldiers came over them, like afreets;"* so says the Dervish who came in to-day.

* "Go, and with ghouls and afrits rave."—*The Giaour*.

We decided to-night to send out a letter to Arabs, saying that though we will not admit any European into the place we will permit an interview, with any European they may wish to send to a flag placed in front of lines, with the Greek Consul and Greek Doctor.

September 12.—It is most dispiriting to be in the position I am, if it was not good for me, when I think that, *when I left*, I could say, "no man could lift his hand or foot in the land of the Soudan"* without me (Gen. XLI. 44)** and now we cannot calculate on our existence over twenty-four hours. The people are all against us, and what a power they have; they need not fight, but have merely to refuse to sell us their grain. The stomach governs the world, and it was the stomach (a despised organ) which caused our misery from the beginning. It is wonderful that the ventral tube of man governs the world, in small and great things.

One of Seyd Mahomet Osman's family, come in from Shendy, reports Osman Digma, as writing to Berber, reporting the arrival of the English at Suakin, their purchase of camels, and advance. The Arab chief of Berber assembled his subordinates and told them this, also of the advance of the troops from Debbeh commanded by English (Wood's force) and

* These words may be taken literally. Such was Gordon's power and influence in 1879, when he resigned the Governor-Generalship of the Soudan.—ED.

** "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt."—ED.

recommended them to collect their men. The two captured steamers at Berber are on opposite sides of river.

Sent out letter to the Arabs to-day, saying I would let the Greek Consul come out and meet the Greek who had written to me; the Arabs, this time, did not fire on the flag of truce.

Church parade of Arabs on south front, but very far off.

The man from Shendy reports that all the right bank of the Nile is quiet. We have sent out an escort to try and capture Cuzzi, who is on his way to Berber.

It certainly is a curious exemplification of how very lightly religions sit on men, and to note the fearful apostacy of both Mussulmans and Christians, when their lives or property are menaced. There is scarcely one great family of the Soudan, families who can trace their pedigree for five hundred years, who have not accepted Mahomet Achmet as Mahdi, to save their property, though they laugh at the idea afterwards. I am using this argument with them, in saying, "You ask me to become a Mussulman to save my life, and you yourself acknowledge Mahomet Achmet as the Mahdi, to save your lives; why, if we go on this principle, we will be adopting every religion whose adherents threaten our existence, for you know and own, when you are safe, that Mahomet Achmet is *not* the Mahdi." *

* "Everything one does is known, and the only regret is that I am a Christian. Yet they would be the first to despise me if I recanted and became a Mussulman."—*Extract from General Gordon's Letter, dated Kassala, December 7th,* 1877.—ED.

One of our captured soldiers from Obeyed came in from Waled a Goun, and four others with a woman came in from Faki Mustapha (two of the last were men slaves of the unfortunate Hassan Pasha Ibrahim, who was executed); they report food scarce in the Arab camp, and that many are striving to run away, owing to the way they are bullied.

Ulemas are writing letters to Arab chiefs, protesting against their acts, as being contrary to Muslim religion.

The Greeks and other prisoners in Obeyed, &c., complain bitterly of their privations and ill-treatment by the Arabs, in the letters they sent in here to other Greeks.

I was awakened this morning by a woman crying out, "My son has been murdered, and I demand justice." Her little *only* boy had, it appears, been in one of the Arab water-wheels, which are moved by oxen, and a man had pushed him off; his skull was partially fractured, but he had been in hospital for some days, and we hoped for his recovery, when inflammation set in, and he died. He was a nice little bright-eyed, chocolate-coloured child of eight years old —the mother is a widow. One is drawn towards the children of this country, both browns and blacks—the former are of a perfect bronze colour.

The browns and blacks bear their wounds without a murmur; the poor fellaheen soldiers yell upon the slightest touch to their wounds.

One of the Arab chiefs came to the Shoboloha defile, and tried to raise the people to occupy the passage; the people refused, and the Arab chief went off.

There is a negro soldier in hospital with a cut on the nose from a sword; the cut has entered the nostrils, giving him four openings instead of two—it is on the bridge of the nose (if a negro nose can be said to have a bridge), and the man's cheeks are untouched.

One man received a wound in the chest; he lived eleven days, and died. The doctor found a bullet lodged in the centre of his heart, in wall of ventricle. The doctor has this heart in spirits. It was a ball weighing the same as our Martini-Henri bullet.

The negro soldiers are wonderfully clean, while the fellaheen and Turkish lot are just the reverse; the former have the gloss of a well-cleaned and polished boot, such as the little London shoeblack loves to turn out for a penny.

A Greek came in from the Arabs to-night; I sent the Greek Consul to see him on the lines, where he will stop for the night.

I saw the Ulemas* to-day, and lamented to them the degeneracy of the *Faith*, when Christians become Mussulmans to save their lives, and Mussulmans become the followers of the False Prophet, to save their property. They are going to preach against this, but I fear much that when it is a question between Allah and their goats, &c., they will be inclined to look after their goats, as a rule. I am afraid we are much the same, and would prefer 50,000 men at our backs, than any Scripture promises; it is only when we are pushed

* "I have upset so many vested interests, that the only people I can count on are the Ulemas, to whom I gave back all their ancient privileges, which had been taken away from them by Ismail Pasha Yacoub."—*Extract from General Gordon's letter dated Kartoum, May 4th*, 1877.—ED.

into a corner, and cannot get the 50,000 men, that we turn to the promises—at least, that is so to a great extent with me. There is no doubt that success makes men hard on their fellows, while misfortune makes them soft. (One has only to study the demeanour of a Cabinet Minister, or a Colonel while in office, or out of office, to be convinced of this truth.)

I do not believe that fanaticism exists as it used to do in the world, judging from what I have seen, in this so-called fanatic land. It is far more a question of property, and is more like communism under the flag of religion, which seems to excite and to give colour to acts which men would otherwise condemn.*

I am sure it is unknown to the generality of our missionaries in Muslim countries, that in the Koran no imputation of sin is made on our Lord, neither is it hinted that He had need of pardon, and, further, no Muslim can deny that the Father of our Lord was God (*vide* Chapter III. of Koran, "the Family of Touran"), and that He was incarnated by a miracle. Our bishops content themselves with its being a false religion, but it is a false religion professed by millions on millions of our fellow creatures. The Muslims do not say Mahomet was without sin, the Koran often acknowledges that he erred, but no Muslim will say "*Jesus sinned.*" As far as self-sacrifice of the body, they are far above Roman Catholics, and consequently above Protestants. It is positive trouble when one calls one's servant to be continually told he is at his

* "If fighting occurs, it is the Soudanese conservative of their property fighting the Soudanese communists, who desire to rob them."—*Extract from General Gordon's Memorandum received by Sir E. Baring, February 4th*, 1884.—*Egypt, No.* 12.—ED.

prayers, and one cannot think that this is an excuse, for it can be no pleasure to be in a constrained position for a considerable time, unless one had some faith in those prayers. The God of the Muslims is *our* God. And they do not believe that Mahomet exercises any mediatorial office for them. They believe they will stand and fall by their own deeds: in fact they are as much under the law as the Jews.

During our blockade, we have often discussed the question of being frightened, which, in the world's view, a man should never be. For my part I am always frightened, and very much so. I fear the future of all engagements.* It is not the fear of death, that is past, thank God; but I fear defeat, and its consequences. I do not believe a bit in the calm, unmoved man. I think it is only that he does not show it outwardly. Thence I conclude no commander of forces ought to live closely in relation with his subordinates, who watch him like lynxes, for there is no contagion equal to that of fear. I have been rendered furious, when, from anxiety, I could not eat, I would find those at same table were in like manner affected.

The Greek Consul came back from seeing the

* "We have, thank God, passed our dangers. Whether they were imaginary or not I do not know, but we were threatened by an attack from thousands of determined blacks, who knew I was here. Now very few Englishmen know what it is to be with troops they have not a bit of confidence in. I prayed heartily for an issue, but it gave me a pain in the heart like that I had when surrounded at Masindi. I do not fear death, but I fear, from want of faith, the results of my death—for the whole country would have risen." —*Extract from General Gordon's letter dated Toashia, July* 11*th*, 1877. Ed.

Greek, who brought a letter* from Waled a Goun, asking me to surrender. I answered as per margin,** saying I did not see it. The Greek's object was to get us to surrender. He says: Lupton,*** of Bahr Gazelle has come down to Shaka, with his men to surrender, and that Emin Bey of the Equator is said to be also captured. The Greek says, "Cuzzi left yesterday for Berber. Slatin Bey† was in Kordofan. The Mahdi was on his way here." According to the Greek Consul, this man came in to get money for the Greek prisoners, and for little else. I have left the Greek Consul to do what he likes with regard to this.

There was an earthquake, lasting some seconds, at 9 P.M. to-night; like the other ones, it was from south to north.

When one thinks of the enormous loss of life which has taken place in the Soudan since 1880, and the general upset of all government, one cannot help feeling vicious against Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Edward Malet, and Sir Charles Dilke, for it is on account of those three men, whose advice was taken by Her Majesty's Government, that all these sorrows are due. They went in for the bondholders, and treated as chimerical any who thought differently from them. . . . by letting Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir Edward Malet stay in Egypt when he went there, got let into their ways. Time has shown the result of their policy, and

* Appendix C. ** Appendix C 1.

*** Lupton Bey was Governor of the Bahr el Gazelle.

† According to a telegram from M. Herbin to M. Barrère, Slatin Bey, formerly Governor of Darfour, had by this time joined the Mahdi, and by him had been placed in command of the Kordofan cavalry, which force was supposed to represent the most formidable contingent of the Mahdi's army.—ED.

we shall hear of them no more. In a minor degree the *Times* correspondent at Cairo and Alexandria is a sinner, for he backed them. We are an honest nation, but our diplomatists are conies, and not *officially* honest.

September 13.—Sent out notifications to all the authorities in Egypt and the Soudan to search Cuzzi closely, for I think he is an emissary of the Mahdi; this can be done under pretence of customs. I am inclined to think that Cuzzi betrayed Berber to the Arabs, for how else can the different treatment he received from the Mahdi from all other Europeans be accounted for?

Five of our soldiers captured at Obeyed came in to-day; they report the Arabs not strong, and not meditating immediate action (they brought their arms with them); they say the Arabs knew of our expedition to Berber.

The Ulemas sent a letter* to the Mahdi to-day; these letters are interesting, for they show the views of these people.

The steamers are reported to have passed the Shoboloha defile safely; they ought to be at Berber to-day.

Note that I do not call our enemy rebels, but Arabs, for it is a vexed question whether we are not rebels, seeing I hold the firman restoring Soudan to its chiefs.

The Greek who came in yesterday told the Greek doctor here that the superior of the mission at Obeyed *alone* has kept his faith; his name is "Luigi Bonorni;"

* Appendix D.

the other priests and nuns all have become Muslims (so he says); the nuns have nominally married Greeks to save themselves from outrage. He says Cuzzi received two horses, a wife, a slave, and $60* from the Mahdi, with whom he was on the closest terms of intimacy. He says, Slatin had 4000 ardebs** of dhoora and 1500 cows, and plenty of ammunition when he surrendered; he has been given eight horses by the Mahdi (all this information must be taken with reserve). The Greeks here made up £38 for their compatriots in captivity, and the Austrian Consul sent $100 to the mission at Obeyed.*** I gave the Greek $5, which I expect was wasted, and I doubt if the Greek will not keep all the money he has received. I grudge the $20 I gave Cuzzi, for I expect he is a vile traitor. I expect he gave the Mahdi all the cyphers; fortunately he had not the Foreign Office cypher, which Stewart has carried off. Had I known this information about Cuzzi I ought to have decapitated him, but it is as well I left him to his fate.

* Dollars. ** An ardeb is equal to five bushels.

*** THE NAMES OF MISSION AT OBEYED.

Prêtres à Kordofan.

1. Don Luigi Bonorni, *Superior.*
2. Don Guiseppe Ohrwalder.
3. Don Paulo Nusignoli.
4. Fra Isodoro Locatelli.
5. Fra Guiseppe Regusto.

Sœurs.

1. Teresa Grigolini, *Superioress.*
2. Fortunata Corce.
3. Catarina Chincherini.
4. Cometta Corsi.
5. Elizabetta Venturini.
6. Maria Caprini.

If what the Greek says is true about the apostacy of all but Don Luigi, what a spectacle! for certainly these people came to this country with more faith than those that stay at home; they could not expect any comforts in it, but much self-denial. Some of those nuns had as much as £1000 a year, which they left to come here. Of course the Greek's statement is open to much doubt.

Slatin's name is Abdel Kadi; Cuzzi's name is Mahomet Yusuf. Mahdi proposes I should put myself, on my surrender (?) under Abou Gugliz, who is a *notorious breaker* of the Dervish rules. I forgot in my letter to remark on this. It appears each of these men have a spiritual adviser with them, who acts as a spy as well.

Two more of the Obeyed soldiers escaped this afternoon; they say the Arabs meditate putting a gun on the Blue Nile above Bourré, and another in front of south front of lines, with the idea of bombarding the town.

Psammitichus* besieged Azotus or Ashdod for twenty-nine years (according to Herodotus). What a life for the people of Azotus! One is tired enough of this, and we have only had six months of it. Azotus or Ashdod is a miserable little village between Jafa (which, by the way, is called after *Japhet*, the son of Noah) and Gaza.

The black soldiers who come in are generally old acquaintances of mine, *i.e.* they know me, while their black pug faces are all alike to me. I like the Chinese best, then the pug-faced blacks, then the chocolate Soudan people. I do not like the tallow-faced fellaheen, though I feel sorry for them.

* Kings of Egypt.—Ed.

Ezekiel xxix. and xxx. are interesting, for they show Egypt to be doomed to be the basest of kingdoms, the slave of kingdoms, never possessing a ruler of its own race (Mahomet Ali was a Sandjak* of Salonica, and an alien to this land). The judgments on this land are on account of its cruelties in respect to the slave trade. Berber (which Colonel Stewart ought to pass to-night) is 200 miles from Merowé, where the cataracts cease, thence there is open water to Dongola, 150 miles distant from Merowé; he ought there to find the telegraph open, and so on the 20th of September he ought to be in communication with Cairo and Europe.

One thing puzzles me is, if it was really determined to abandon the Soudan to its fate, why the people of Dongola and of Senheit were not withdrawn, when the determination was taken; there could be no possible object for keeping the peoples in those places. I think if, instead of "Minor Tactics" or books on art of war, we were to make our young officers study "Plutarch's Lives," it would be better; there we see men (unsupported by any true belief, pure pagans), making, *as a matter of course*, their lives a sacrifice, but in our days it is the highest merit not to run away. I speak for myself when I say I have been in dire anxiety, not for my own skin, but because I hate to be beaten, and I hate to see my schemes fail; but that I have had to undergo a tithe of what any nurse has to undergo, who is attached to a querulous invalid, is absurd, and not to be weighed together. When I emerge all are complimentary; when the invalid dies the question is, what should be given to the nurse for

* The commander of a company.—ED.

her services. We profess to be followers of our Lord, who, from His birth, when He was hunted, till His death, may be said to have had no sympathy or kindness shown Him, yet we (and I say myself especially) cry out if we are placed in any position of suffering, whereas it is our *métier*, if we are Christians, to undergo such suffering. I have led the officers and officials the lives of dogs while I have been up here; it is spurs in their flanks every day; nothing can obliterate this ill-treatment from my memory. I may say that I have not given them a moment's peace; they are conies, but I ought to have been more considerate. It is quite painful to see men tremble so when they come and see me, that they cannot hold the match to their cigarette. Yet I have cut off no heads; I only killed two Pashas, and I declare, had it not been for outside influences, those two Pashas would have been alive now; they were judicially murdered.* Happy, as far

* "Surviving Soudanese declared that the two Pashas in command charged back into their own square; the soldiers, recognising them, opened their ranks to let them through; and into the gap thus made the rebel cavalry followed. The treachery, doubtless pre-arranged, was complete in its success, but retribution was close at hand. When the battle was over these two traitors, Said and Hassan, came into Gordon's tent, and the General offered them drink. They refused; Gordon's secretary, divining the reason, drank first, and the Pashas, who had suspected poison, followed suit. During the remainder of that day they lay hidden in their homes, for the soldiers were crying aloud for vengeance, and would have murdered them at once had they appeared in the streets. The next day they were tried by court-martial, and found guilty of communication with the enemy and of having treacherously murdered their own men. In the house of Hassan a great store of rifles and ammunition was discovered; and it was proved that both he and his colleague had stolen the two months' pay given to the troops on account of six months' arrears. They had also taken into the

as we can see, are those men who swing in small arcs; unhappy are those who, seeking the field of adventure, swing from the extremes of evil and good. The neutral tint is the best for wear.

What a contradiction is life! I hate Her Majesty's Government for their leaving the Soudan after having caused all its troubles; yet I believe our Lord rules heaven and earth, so I ought to hate Him, which I (sincerely) do not.

I hear Hansall, the Austrian Consul, is disposed to go with *his seven female attendants* to the Arabs. I hope he will do so.

Heaps of cattle come in every day, but very little grain. Seyd Mahomet Osman has sent word to his people to go to Kartoum for refuge; this is pleasant for us! but it shows his confidence in our future, and it is a great honour to me, who (thank God) am given faith to outspeak "I am a Christian," to have obtained such confidence from a man, who would, in the times of my glory, scarcely look at me.

One of his (Seyd Mahomet Osman's) men going down to Shendy (where his sister, a very plucky woman, lives) was taking down a pair of slippers for her, and he brought them here; I wrote my name on the inside of each, and told him to tell the "Sitt," or lady, when she put them on, she put her claw on my head; the

field with them seventy rounds of cannon ammunition, instead of eight, the usual number, so that the rebels' guns might be well supplied for future attacks on Kartoum. The trial was long and patient, but the verdict was apparent from the beginning. Hassan and Said were found guilty, and on the same evening, amid expressions of universal delight, they were shot by the men they had betrayed."—*The Story of Chinese Gordon, pp.* 92-3, V. II.—ED.

man came back the other day, and said the "Sitt" was delighted with the idea.

What a row the Pope will make about the nuns marrying the Greeks! It is the union of the Greek and Latin churches.

September 14.—Yesterday evening the Arabs fired four cannon shots towards lines on south front, but they did not reach the fortifications.

Halfeyeh * reports the assembly of the Arabs, with a view to attacking that place. A party has gone out to see what truth there is in this report.

Four other men came in from the Arabs to-day; they had little to say, beyond that the Arabs meant to maintain a blockade, and not to attack directly.

The Arabs killed four soldiers who tried to escape, but those who came in say this will not stop their coming.

A man I sent out to Waled Mocashee, who fought with Waled a Goun (*vide* Stewart's journal), was caught with my letters by Arabs, and was on the eve of being hung, when my letter arrived, in which I remonstrated with the Arabs for ill-treating my messengers, on which they pardoned him, and let him go. This man says the Greek, who came into the lines yesterday, was sent off to Kordofan on his return to the Arab camp. The Arabs would have been quite justified in executing the man above alluded to, for he was a genuine spy; my remonstrance to them was with respect to their treatment of *direct* messengers I sent to them; there is considerable doubt that even Waled Mocashee ever did fight with Waled a Goun.

* *i.e.* Natives from Halfeyeh report.—Ed.

In my letter to Sheikh Abdel Kader, I proposed to him to come in and see me; the Arab chiefs asked him to go, but he would not; it is well known we have refused to give in.

If it is possible to get rid of the bitter feelings existing between the two great sections of the Soudan people,* it will go a great way to pacify the country; by degrees this may be done.

Meat has fallen from 10*s.* per lb. to 2*s.* per lb.

The steamer *Towfikia*, which went up the Blue Nile to Giraffe, fell on the Arabs, and drove them off from collecting grass and wood (one is thankful for small mercies in these times).

The word "Islam" means the resigning or devoting oneself entirely to God and His service, *i.e.* self-sacrifice: consequently a true Christian is of the Islam religion, as far as the name goes (this is Sale's translation of the word Islam).

It is curious how quick the people forget their disasters and losses; it is only ten days ago that we lost in killed nearly one thousand men, yet no one speaks of it now; it takes about four or six days to obliterate the bitterness of a disaster.

The old bugbear of the defection of the Shaggyeh has sprung up again. Saleh Pasha, who is a prisoner with the Mahdi, has written to his brother to say he and the Mahdi are coming, and that he is not to join me. These sort of things, which are taken up as gospel truth by those around me, are one of the most disagreeable parts of my position; those who will one day declare that the Shaggyeh are faithful, will two days after urge one to take the sharpest measures of

* Those for, and those against the Mahdi.—ED.

repression against them, which is, to my mind, just the way to push them into rebellion, if they had any tendency that way (I mean by rebellion, joining the Arabs).

Saleh Pasha's brother came in to-day to see me; he has heard that his brother is with the Mahdi at Schatt, a place inland from Duem, on White Nile. He seems to think this is authentic; if so, we shall have the Mahdi here ere long; he has been there nine days.

The news of the near approach of the Mahdi has not troubled me, for if he fails he is lost, and there will be no necessity for an expedition to Kordofan; if he succeeds, he may, by his presence, prevent any massacre. I have always felt we were doomed to come face to face ere the matter was ended.

I toss up in my mind, whether, if the place is taken, to blow up the palace and all in it, or else to be taken, and, with God's help, to maintain the faith, and if necessary to suffer for it (which is most probable). The blowing up of the palace is the simplest, while the other means long and weary suffering and humiliation of all sorts. I think I shall elect for the last, not from fear of death, but because the former has more or less the taint of suicide, as it can do no good to any one, and is, in a way, taking things out of God's hands.

Schatt is twenty miles inland from Duem, which is one hundred miles from here, on left bank of White Nile.

The Greek who came in told the Greek Consul that the Mahdi puts pepper under his nails, and when he receives visitors then he touches his eyes and weeps

copiously; that he eats a few grains of dhoora openly, but in the interior of the house he has fine feeding and drinks alcoholic drinks.

The Greek says the Mahdi has lots of letters from Cairo,* Stamboul, and India; that his constant conversation is Kartoum, and his chance of its capture.

After this pepper business! I think I shall drop any more trouble in writing him letters, trying to convince or persuade him to reasonable measures.

The Greek told the Greek Consul that the Mahdi was perplexed to know what on earth I was doing up here, as I had no part or lot in the Soudan. I expect this question is more perplexing for others than the Mahdi (myself included). I must confess that the pepper business has sickened me; I had hitherto hoped I had to do with a regular fanatic, who believed in his mission, but when one comes to pepper in the finger nails, it is rather humiliating to have to succumb to him, and somehow I have the belief that I shall not have to do so. One cannot help being amused at this pepper business. Those who come in, for pardon, come in on their knees, with a halter round their neck. The Mahdi rises, having scratched his eyes and obtained a copious flow of tears, and takes off the halter! As the production of tears is generally considered the proof of sincerity, I would recommend the Mahdi's recipe to Cabinet Ministers,

* "I strongly suspect that he (the Mahdi) is a mere puppet put forward by Elyas, Zubair's father-in-law, and the largest slave-owner in Obeyed, and that he has assumed a religious title to give colour to the defence of the popular rights."—*General Gordon's view as expressed to the Editor of "Pall Mall Gazette" on Jan.* 8, 1884.—ED.

justifying some job. The nails (so say the Greeks) must be long! to contain the pepper.

September 15.—Another escaped soldier came in this morning; reports that they are waiting orders of the Mahdi, and do not mean to attack the lines. Charity thinketh no evil. She was not in the Soudan, for I declare, what with the tricks of the officials here, Charity would have had a bad time of it.

They say the Mahdi, when he goes out and sees a woman carrying a jar of water, rushes at her and begs to be allowed to carry the water. He rushes up to the Sitt* even as I do, only I have not tried the water-carrying.

It appears that the pepper business is of old date in the Soudan, and not invented by the Mahdi.

The strength of eastern potentates is the seclusion they live in; they are sacred. Once they are known, they are done for, and perhaps the Mahdi coming here will do for him. As long as he could put the misdeeds of his subordinates on them, he was all right, but when the people see that he does nothing to rectify wrongs, his prestige ought to go.

This afternoon one of Seyd Mahomet Osman's family came up from Shendy; he reports the Stewart expedition having passed Shendy,** that they captured a large boat with grain and twenty-four slaves, which was collecting taxes for the Arabs. He reports as true the arrival of troops at Dongola; that the Mudir of Dongola has quieted his province; that the Arab chief Mahomet el Khair, of Berber, on hearing troops had

* A woman.—ED.

** Shendy is ninety-five miles from Kartoum.—ED.

come to Dongola, sent round to collect the Arabs, promising them $ 20 a month, half responded to the call, and came to Berber and asked for their pay. Mahomet el Khair sent them to a house where he said the money was (the Government money, the celebrated £60,000 which was given to me at Cairo!) When they entered the house, no money was found, and Mahomet el Khair explained it by saying the devil had caused it to enter the earth! He then *pretended* that the Mahdi had sent for him, and bolted. He seems to have seen he could not hold out. If he goes to the Mahdi, and does not account in some better way for the disappearance of the money, I fear it will go hard with him, for the Mahdi, although he allows certain freedom in miraculous events, is likely to be chary in allowing such events among his followers, especially when they affect his pocket.

Another captured soldier escaped and came in. He says the Arabs begin to notice these diminutions of their men, and to be very strict. Nearly all the soldiers knew me personally in Darfour.

As for the £60,000 which has been lost and stolen by Soudan Arabs, it is only a tithe of what has been stolen from the Soudan by the Egyptian Pashas, that effete race, so I do not regret it.

We hope to finish another of those small steamers in twenty days, like the *Abbas* (which went down to Dongola with Stewart), and in another forty days to complete another one, this will complete the four steamers bought by Colonel Prout* in 1878; one of

* Colonel Prout was appointed by General Gordon to the command of the Equatorial Provinces at the date of the latter's resignation in the autumn of 1876.—ED.

them, the *Mahomet Ali*, is in the hands of the Arabs, having been surrendered by Saleh Bey.

I should not be surprised if Berber surrendered to Stewart's expedition. It was a miserable defence it made, and the people were never very much inclined for the Mahdi. I cannot help thinking Cuzzi was at the bottom of its surrender.

The *Towfikia* steamer went up above Giraffe today, fired on some Arabs and captured a cow. Four of the captured soldiers of Obeyed escaped here; they had little to say, beyond that they had been very miserable, and that the Arabs hoped we would surrender.

I sincerely hope that Berber will surrender to Stewart's party; it would be a great feather in his cap.

The majority of the soldiers who come in bring their rifles.

Haunting the palace are a lot of splendid hawks. I often wonder whether they are destined to pick my eyes, for I fear I was not the best of sons.*

"Enough for the day is the evil thereof," but I cannot help feeling appalled at what is to happen; even if we do manage to extricate Kartoum from its troubles, we will have to quiet down all the countries around Sennaar and Kassala, and to withdraw from the Bahr Gazelle, and Equator (for I do not believe the Greek's story about those lands being evacuated). Then comes the question of whether the prisoners in Kordofan are to be left to their fate. If Her Majesty's

* "The eye that mocketh at his father and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it."—Prov. xxx. 17.

Government has entered the field this is impossible, and if Her Majesty's Government prevent Egypt extricating them, then it is virtually Her Majesty's Government who leaves them to their fate. Besides this, there is the terrible outlay of money (which has to be met) for current expenses. Also who is to govern the country. All idea of evacuation *en masse* must be given up, it is totally impossible, and the only solution is to let the Turks come in, or else to leave me here, the very thought of which makes me shudder, or to send up Zubair Pasha;* in both cases a subsidy of £ 100,000 is needed per annum.

September 16. — The man left in charge of the Roman Catholic Mission's garden is furious with the Austrian Consul for taking those $ 100 he sent to the captives at Obeyed. He says that had he known they had become Muslim he would have sent them poison. The $ 100 came from the sale of produce of the garden. Whether his anger is owing to his bigotry, or to the having to give up the $ 100, is a question. He says he cannot leave, for he is in charge of the Bishop's robes. I expect he holds on to the garden, whose dates alone sold for over $ 1600.

A woman escaped from the Arabs this morning.

The notes to Sale's Koran, chapter XIX., entitled "Mary," are very interesting, as containing the Muslim view of our Lord's conception. The sixteenth chapter of Koran, entitled "the Bee," is considered to allow Muslims to apostatise, if forced by violence to do

* Zubair is the correct spelling. It must not be forgotten that Zubair is of very high family, being a direct descendant of the "Abbassides."—ED.

so (*vide* Sale's notes with regard to Moseilama), though it is more meritorious not to do so. So the Muslim here are well off in this respect, *vis-à-vis* the Mahdi.

Faki Mustapha, who commanded on the left bank of the White Nile, and who retired into the interior, was expected to come over to us. He however has written a letter * in abusive terms to Cassim el Mousse, in which he maintains that Mahomet Achmet is the Mahdi. Another soldier came in with two rifles. *Towfikia* went up the Blue Nile, and took on board two runaway slaves. Another man came in with a letter from a man who is a prisoner with the Arabs, which letter says positively that 22,000 troops are at Dongola, and that the Mudir of Dongola is at Merowé, and is pushing on his men.

The soldier who brought in *two* rifles accounts for it by saying he started with his companion to come; that his companion got frightened and dreaded to delay, so they sat down and his companion went to sleep; so my friend thought it was time to be off, and that it was as well to take his comrade's rifle with him!!

September 17.—I have the strongest suspicion that these tales of troops at Dongola and Merowé are all gas-works, and that if you wanted to find Her Majesty's forces you would have to go to Shepheard's Hotel at Cairo. *

The reports of the advance which we get from

* Appendix E.

* Lord Wolseley and staff left Cairo for Wady Halfa ten days after Gordon wrote those words.—ED.

Seyd Osman are never supported by any written evidence from Dongola, and I expect they are invented. Whether the resurrection of Stewart, Power, and Herbin will have any effect remains to be seen, but, ill-natured or not, it is my firm impression that Her Majesty's Government will be most disagreeably surprised by their emerging.

If Stewart gets down, he ought to be in communication with Europe on the 22nd of September, and Power's telegrams ought to be in *Times* 23rd September. It makes me laugh to think of the flutter in the dovecot which will follow. "*That beastly Soudan again!*" (Africa has indeed been a "beast" to our country, as one of Dickens's characters called it.)

Egerton's telegram,* carefully written in cypher

* Lord Granville on May 17, 1884, instructed Mr. Egerton to communicate the following message from Her Majesty's Government to General Gordon:—

"Having regard to the time which has elapsed, Her Majesty's Government desire to add to their communication of the 23rd April as follows:—As the original plan for the evacuation of the Soudan has been dropped, and as aggressive operations cannot be undertaken with the countenance of Her Majesty's Government, General Gordon is enjoined to consider and either to report upon, or, if feasible, to adopt, at the first proper moment, measures for his own removal and for that of the Egyptians at Kartoum who have suffered for him or who have served him faithfully, including their wives and children, by whatever route he may consider best, having especial regard to his own safety and that of the other British subjects.

"With regard to the Egyptians above referred to, General Gordon is authorised to make free use of money rewards or promises at his discretion. For example, he is at liberty to assign to Egyptian soldiers at Kartoum sums for themselves and for persons brought with them per head, contingent on their safe arrival at Korosko, or whatever point he may consider a place of safety; or

(and equally carefully without date, but which we ascribe to June), respecting the contracts to be entered into with the Bedouin tribes to escort us down ("and be sure to look after *yourself*"!) might have been as well written in Arabic, it would have produced hilarity with the Mahdi. Two escaped soldiers came in with little news, they came with their arms.

A man came in from visiting the Sheikh el Obeyed. He says that the Arabs lost very few in their attack on Mahomet Ali Pasha; that they will wait till the river falls ere they try and close in on Kartoum.

The righteous indignation, expressed on the publication of that slave circular, which did nothing more than say "that the treaty of 1877 (declaring that the slaves would not be *allowed to be sold after* 1887) would not be put in force," is rather amusing to think over (a *pact with the devil*, as, I dare say, some called it), when one thinks that the probability is the whole country will be a nest of slave hunters and banditti.

They say the Mahdi means to take up his quarters on the left bank of the Nile, so as to have his retreat clear to Kordofan in case of accidents.

The *Towfikia* steamer went up the Blue Nile, and found the Arabs near Giraffe, with three guns, which fired five or six rounds at the steamer, but did no harm.

he may employ and pay the tribes in the neighbourhood to escort them. Her Majesty's Government presume that the Soudanese at Kartoum are not in danger. In the event of General Gordon having dispatched any persons or agents to other points, he is authorised to spend any money required for the purpose of recalling them or securing their safety."—*Egypt*, 22, 1884, *No.* 22.—ED.

BAYERISCHE STAATS-BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

The pomp of Egerton's telegram, informing me "that Her Majesty's Government would (really!) pay on delivery so much a head for all refugees *delivered* on Egyptian frontier, and would (*positively*, it is incredible!) *reward* tribes with whom I might contract with, to escort them down."

It was too generous for one to believe! Egerton's chivalrous nature must have got the better of his diplomatic training when he wrote it! The clerks in my divan, to whom I disclosed it, are full of exclamations of wonder at this generosity! Egerton must consider that I was a complete idiot to have needed such a permission. I hope he will get promoted, and will not be blamed for his overstraining his instructions!

Another soldier escaped with his wife; he says: The Arabs brought three guns down to cover their foraging party, and have taken them back, which is a relief to me.

I own to a great fear that Stewart's journal will not be published *in extenso*, but will be doctored; if so, it is a great pity, for there are lots of nice things in it. For really it is my journal as much as Stewart's, though he wrote it.

When the escaped soldiers come in, they pay me a visit, and are given a dollar, made to look at their black pug faces in the mirrors, which are in the palace, and asked their opinion of the reflections. Some stare with wide open eyes, for *they have never seen themselves before*. They generally approve of the reflections, especially the black sluts, who think themselves "Venuses," and shove their hands into their mouths, which is a general sign among blacks of great modesty, like the casting down of the eyes with us.

Faki Mustapha's letter* caused great commotion among the Ulemas, for he says, "He will destroy the Korans, and shut the mosques, and listen only to the Mahdi."

There is a tone in Egerton's telegram** which grates on me; it is, *to me*, as if he said "You have got into a mess, and although you do not deserve it, I am willing to stretch a point in your favour, and authorize you," &c. And in the previous part (the author unknown) of the telegram, it is as if I was enjoying this wretched fighting up here. I declare it is Egerton and Co., who made the mess, and would like to hang its fabrication and solution on me, not that I mind the burthen, if they did not send such telegrams (the Co. are Malet and Colvin).***

I must say I do not love Diplomatists as a rule (and I can fancy the turning up of noses at my venturing to express an opinion of them), I mean in their official attire, for, personally, the few I know are most agreeable (and I specially except Alston, the chief clerk, and Weller, the hall porter, who has, of late years, become quite amiable); but taking them on their rostrums, with their satellites, from their chiefs down to the smaller fry, no one can imagine a more unsatisfactory lot of men to have anything to do with. I have seen . . ., . . ., . . ., . . ., at different times, and when one left their august presences, one marvelled at the policy of Great Britain being in such hands. Lord Hammond was a Tartar, and one knew he was to be respected.

* Appendix E.

** *i.e.* The telegram given on page 96.—Ed.

*** See *ante*, note on page 96.—Ed.

One would not so much mind if they did not inoculate with their virus those who get employed by them, but I have found Stokes of the Suez Canal, Wilson of Anatolia, and many others (I may say Stewart), all impregnated with their ideas of sun worship and expediency. I own to having read with pleasure the "Queen's Messenger" till Lord Carrington stopped its publication, and Marvin's work on Public Offices.

A man has come in who says Stewart and his steamers have captured a large convoy of two hundred camel-loads of stuff belonging to the Arabs. They had passed Shendy, and had not been fired upon.

The Mahdi will be furious.

I do not think the resources of this place are known. We can turn out 50,000 rounds of Remington ammunition a week, there are some 10,000 rounds of mountain-gun ammunition in store, and if the Mahdi takes Kartoum (which will entail the fall of every town in Soudan) it will need a large force to stay his propaganda. According to the Greek he meditates an invasion of Egypt and Palestine, where they are all ready to rise.* All the steamers on the Nile, even

* "The danger to be feared is not that the Mahdi will march northward through Wady Halfa; on the contrary, it is very improbable that he will ever go so far north. The danger is altogether of a different nature. It arises from the influence which the spectacle of a conquering Mahommedan Power, established close to your frontiers, will exercise upon the population which you govern. In all the cities in Egypt it will be felt that what the Mahdi has done they may do; and, as he has driven out the intruder and the infidel, they may do the same. Nor is it only England that has to face this danger. The success of the Mahdi has already excited dangerous fermentation in Arabia and Syria. Placards have been posted in Damascus calling upon the population to rise and drive

below Assouan, are but crockery, if struck by a mountain-gun shell; consequently, if the people rose at Esneh they could, by the Mahdi sending down two guns, stop the river. The further the Mahdi is off from the people who rise, the stronger he is; here we are near him, and hear all about his festivities and pepper business; at Esneh this would be lost in the mists of distance, still more so at Cairo and in Palestine. What have we done in Lower Egypt to make them like us? Not a single thing. We have foisted Europeans on them to the extent of £ 450,000 a year; we have not reduced taxes, only improved the way of extorting those taxes. The Mahdi says, "I will take one-tenth of your produce, and I will rid you of the 'dogs'"—a most captivating programme! If well led, and once he takes Kartoum, the combined forces of France and England will not be able to subdue him, unless they go at his nest. From a *professional military point of view*, and *speaking materially*, I wish I was the Mahdi, and I would laugh at all Europe. Query (believing all the above as I do)—would I be justified in coming to terms with Mahdi, on the understanding that he should let down all refugees (on the Egerton contract arrangement), while I should give over to him, unhurt, all warlike material in Kartoum?

Certainly, according to the letter, I would be justified in so doing; and *then* what! of what I feel sure out the Turks. If the whole of the Eastern Soudan is surrendered to the Mahdi, the Arab tribes on both sides the Red Sea will take fire. In self-defence the Turks are bound to do something to cope with so formidable a danger, for it is quite possible that if nothing is done the whole of the Eastern Question may be reopened by the triumph of the Mahdi."—*General Gordon's views, as expressed to the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette."*—ED.

will happen, *i.e.*, a rising in Egypt occurs, what will my nation say? (for Egerton will disappear by some appointment in Chili) they will say it is my fault; but (*D.V.*) they shall not say so, for I will not give up the place except with my life. It cannot be too strongly impressed on the public that it is not the Mahdi's forces which are to be feared, but the rising of the populations by his emissaries. I do not believe he had four thousand men when he defeated Hicks. We have to think what would a garrison of ten thousand men do in Cairo if the population rose.

Had Zubair Pasha been sent up when I asked for him, Berber would in all probability never have fallen, and one might have made a Soudan Government in opposition to the Mahdi. We choose to refuse his coming up because of his antecedents *in re* slave trade; granted that we had reason, yet as we take no precautions as to the future of these lands with respect to the slave trade, the above opposition seems absurd. I will not send up A. because he will do this, but I will leave the country to B., who will do exactly the same.

September 18.—Men came to Halfeyeh from Shendy, and report in further detail, the attack on the market of Metemma,* and capture of a lot of things. They report also the arrival of troops at Dongola, and their advance towards Berber (saying that a reconnaissance was just pushed out to ascertain if Kartoum had fallen or not). Three escaped soldiers came in from Arabs; they report that a lot of troops are at Fashoda.** I

* A town nearly opposite to Shendy, on the left bank of the Nile.—ED.

** An old hot-bed of slavery on the White Nile.—ED.

suppose those from Equator or Bahr Gazelle; it appears they have been at Fashoda some little time, and have lots of cows, &c. They did not like to come on, for they did not know if Kartoum existed.

10 A.M.—A fight is going on between the *Towfikia* steamer and five hundred of our men and the Arabs, near Giraffe. The Arabs are retiring towards the White Nile. I sent out the men to get wood, &c. The Arabs did ditto, thence the collision.

The three men who came in to-day, say the Arabs, seeing the numbers who desert them, take the rifles from the men at night, and give them out by day.

These men say the Mahdi knows of the advance of the troops on Berber, and is in a way about it.

Yesterday, previous to hearing the news of to-day, I had arranged for the departure of the Greek Consul and subjects to the Equator, and then their retreat, *viâ* Zanzibar, but it will now be held in abeyance, till we see the corroboration or not, of this advance of troops to Berber.

The following meditations as to the future, may save a good deal of talking: therefore I write them. Supposing it to be true, an expeditionary force comes to Berber, composed of partly British troops. What will result? The Mahdi's people will retire still further into the interior, and some of his people will come in. The chief of the expeditionary force will say "Now the road from Kartoum to Berber is open, retire the garrison." He may say, "I will give you three months to do it in." Well, we send up steamers to the Equator and Bahr Gazelle, and the garrison of Kartoum marches on Sennaar and we get down the refugees, and garrisons from those places. Of course the moment it is

known we are going to evacuate, we drive all neutrals, and even friendlies of the country into the arms of the Mahdi, for they will calculate "We are going to be left, and consequently we must, for our own interests, do something for the Mahdi, in order to hedge our position." This means that arrayed against our evacuation will be the mass of those living in our midst, and who are now with us. This is disagreeable, but one cannot help seeing that it is quite impossible to keep British troops after January. Therefore I maintain we must instal Zubair with a subsidy or give over country to the Sultan with a subsidy. There is no option. If it is determined to do neither, but to evacuate purely and simply, then when the Sennaar garrison is brought down, give me the steamers, and the black troops, who are willing to go, and let me take them up to Equator, while the expeditionary force goes down to Berber. I must say I think this will be a mistake, to leave the prisoners in Obeyed, and to let the Mahdi gain Kartoum.

As for Kassala, it must be relieved, by a separate expedition from Massowah and Senheit. Supposing the evacuation, and non-establishment of a regular government (under Zubair or the Turks) is determined upon, the Mahdi would, on taking Kartoum, think twice of moving on Egypt, if I was on his rear at Equator, with all the steamers.

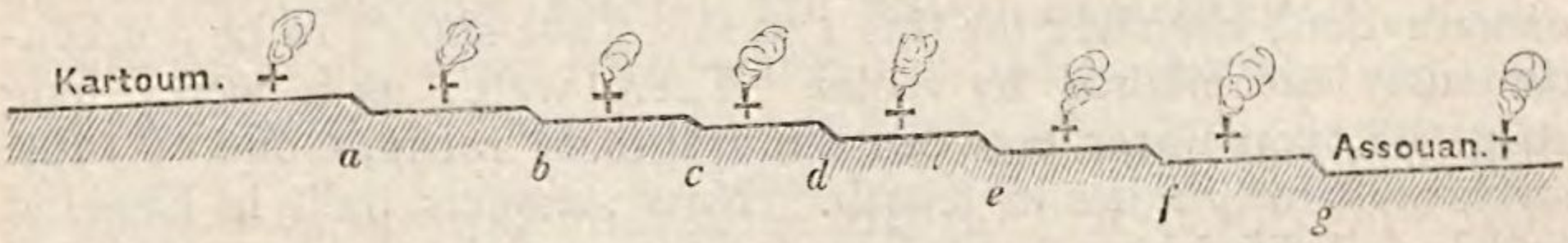
No one can feel more strongly than I do, that January must see any British troops, who may come up on their way down to Egypt, *coûte que coûte*. This must be so, therefore I keep on, about giving the country to Sultan, or installing Zubair, with subsidies.

In the serail, we have a Turkey cock and five Turkey hens. They were all very tame, but having put the Turkey cock's head under his wing, and swung him into sleep, on one occasion, he is now shy to come near me; however, if one goes to his wives and scratches them he is furious, and comes up with his neck of all colours, but keeps out of range. I am sorry to say that one of his wives, having sat with patience for three weeks on eggs, and brought forth two chicks, *he killed them;* such is the accusation lodged against him by the cook. I think a Turkey cock, with every feather on end, and all the colours of the rainbow on his neck, is the picture of physical strength; his eye is an eye of fire, and there is no doubt of his being angry when he sees his wives touched. I am one of those who believe in the fore and future existence of what we call animals. We have the history of man, shaped in the image and likeness of God. He had breathed into him the breath of God, and became alive, while the waters and earth were told to bring forth animals *that had life already* (Gen. I. 20). "That hath life." Take Psalm VIII. "What is man, Thou hast put *all things* under his feet." What a fall there is in the next verse, "*All sheep and oxen,*" and turn to Hebrews II. 8, where the same Psalm is quoted, and where *all* things are subject to Him. All principalities, powers, and every existence are under Him. Why did the Psalmist go out of his way to quote "sheep and oxen," unless they were (so to say) the incarnation of those powers and principalities? Man, however much he has fallen, has the grand pre-eminence over all creatures, *he was shaped* (the word is the same as is used for a potter

making a clay vessel) *in God's image and likeness*, and it is only God who could have so shaped him, as it is only God who knew His own likeness. Also when our Lord took our form (which he still keeps) as man, in Him dwelt the fulness of the Godhead, so that there is no doubt (as he differed only from us in being sinless) that man is capable of containing the fulness of the Godhead. Our belief is that *as man* our Lord governs heaven and earth, not a sparrow falling without His permission; this being so, the *capacity* of man must be such as to allow of his being so endowed as to rule all events in heaven and earth, for it is distinctly said our Lord was incarnated in a similar body to ours, except without sin. Our Lord, who is now man for ever and ever, is not likely to have taken a form which contained any hindrance to His fulness of His Godhead, therefore the form He took must be perfect, and as our difference between Him and us is our sin (which He has taken away), we, in our turn, must be capable of realising His fulness of Godhead, and my belief is that our future happiness is in being finite intelligences. We will keep on to all eternity, grasping the infinite knowledge of God which we are so formed as to be able to do, but which will last for ever inasmuch as He is infinite. When one gets on these subjects, and has to come down to this dreadful Soudan question, it is depressing; so also is the thought that misery here is our lot, for if we will be with our Master, we must be like Him, who from His birth to His death may be said to have been utterly miserable, as far as things in this world are concerned: yet I kick at the least obstacle to my will.

I certainly will, with all my heart and soul, do my best if any of Her Majesty's forces come up here or to Berber, to send them down before January, and will willingly take all the onus of having done so. Truly the people are not worth any *great* sacrifice, and we are only bound to them because of our dubious conduct in Egypt, to which bond there is a limit, which I fix in January. As for the Kordofan Europeans, with one exception, they have denied their Lord, and they deserve their fate in some measure.

September 19.—The ex-Khedive always said that the great difficulty of governing the Soudan, was the want of means of easy access, so he went into a great scheme of railways; he always said that the Government was bad, because of the immunity which Governors enjoyed, owing to his being unable to control them. The Soudan, if once proper communication was established, would not be difficult to govern. The only mode of improving the access to the Soudan, seeing the impoverished state of Egyptian finances, and the mode to do so, without an outlay of more than £ 10,000, is by the Nile.



Take this section to be the bed of Nile from Kartoum to Assouan, *a b c d e f g* the cataracts; place steamers on the open spaces between cataracts, build small forts at cataracts, and a sure and certain road is open for ever.

The same crews would do for these steamers, for

a weekly service would suffice. Camels should be placed at the cataracts for the transhipment of goods from steamer to steamer.

After the first outlay, which certainly would not be more than £10,000, for we have the steamers (I think £5000 would be enough), the thing would pay itself. Of course, it would be better to make loop tramways worked by animals, than to keep camels at the cataracts. I worked at this idea quietly for the time* I was in the Soudan before. Colonel Mason

* "Ismail, the ex-Khedive, fully considered that to maintain his hold of the Soudan, he must improve his communications with it and Egypt proper. Unfortunately, in his wish to bring the Soudan trade down the Nile through Egypt proper, he was led to abandon its natural outlet by the route from Berber to Suakin, across the 280-mile desert, and determined to make a railway through the desert along the Nile past the Cataracts from Wady Halfa to Hanneck, a distance of 180 miles. Contracts were made, and some £450,000 were spent on the line; but financial difficulties arose, and in 1877 it came to a standstill some fifty or sixty kilometres south of Wady Halfa. It was evident that on this grand scale the continuation of the line could not be hoped for, so I studied the question. There was the line made from Wady Halfa for say fifty miles; and therefore 130 miles remained to be got over before this barrier of desert was passed. By the researches of Colonel Mason and Mr. Gooding, and also by my own personal examination, the river for this 130 miles was shown to be not continuously encumbered by rocks. There were, as it were, long strips of open water between the ridges of rocks,—one of these strips was forty miles in length. Now steamers built in England had in full flood been hauled up every one of these ridges, and had thus been brought to Kartoum and had plied to Gondokoro. My idea was to bring up small steamers during high Nile, place them on all the open strips of water of any reasonable extent; and thus work them from ridge to ridge in these open spaces. I proposed further to have only one crew, and to ship them from steamer to steamer so as to save expense. At those places where the ridge was of any great length, I proposed to use tramways to get over

went down and examined the cataracts between Hanneck and Wady Halfa, and he found one space of open water forty miles in length. The Wady Halfa railway might be produced some nine kilometres, and brought down to river bank. The mass of the misfortunes of the Soudan arose from this idea of utilising the Nile not having been carried out, but one had to work at it quietly, for Cairo was bent on the Wady Halfa railway over which such sums had been spent. I even took one steamer up from Wady Halfa to Dongola (*i.e.*, Mr. Baird, C.E., did so), to begin the chain of steamers.

No church parade to speak of; Arabs are now visible only on the south front, four or five miles distant. Arabs did not bring their gun down to the Blue Nile to-day, and no escaped prisoners came in. To-day is the Muslim Sabbath, and there is no office work. (Not that there is much on other days; however, one never sees anyone from morning till night).

This has given me time to think over the outburst of indignation *in re* the slave circular. We did not

the space between the debarking landing-place of one open water-way to the embarking wharf of the other open water-way. Thus, by using the water-way where open, and tramways where the river was encumbered, I should get over these 130 miles. I calculated that the cost of all this work, steamers, and tramways, &c., would be £70,000, while the railway, if carried, would have cost over a million and a half. However, the revolts, troubles of different kinds, and other things, prevented this being carried out, and the controllers would not take it up; so, after an expense of nearly half-a-million, the railway exists with its end *en l'air*, with its valuable stores perishing, while Egypt proper has no more hold over the Soudan than was had by Ancient Egypt."—*See* "*Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*," *p.* 315.—ED.

see the papers, so can only guess what they said, but expect that this diabolical fact caused upraised hands in horror, "Was the world coming to an end?" What complete rubbish! Was it not announced openly that the Soudan was going to be abandoned, and consequently that the Soudanese were to be allowed to follow their own devices (which are decidedly slave-huntingly inclined)? What possible influence could my saying that that feeble Treaty of 1877 was not going to be enforced, have on people who were going to be abandoned? The sole and only object of my mission was to get out the garrisons and refugees without loss of life. And in saying what I did I merely told the people a platitude.

Baring deigned to say he would support me! Of course, that was an enormous assistance, to have his approbation. I expect that my asking for Zubair to come up was the last drop in the cup, and henceforth I was a complete pariah, yet, in reality, if the Soudan was to be abandoned, what difference could it possibly make whether Zubair or the Mahdi carried on slave-hunting, for, according to all accounts, the Mahdi is most active in this direction (so says the Greek). We had decided to abandon the Soudan, and to leave it to its own devices; the only obstacle to this were those *horrid* garrisons; once we could get them out, then chaos might reign, for all we cared. The Arabs, foolishly, would not let us return, consequently the present position. Zubair's coming up, when I asked for him, would have, I think, saved Berber, and greatly facilitated the getting down of *those* garrisons, which we only care for, because it is a *palpable* dishonour to abandon them, "they ought to have surrendered at

once, troublesome people that they are, giving so much bother!"

Stewart will bear witness that my whole efforts have been, and will be, directed to carry out my instructions, viz., the withdrawal of the garrisons and refugees, and had it not been for the defeat of Mahomet Ali Pasha, I should have got out at least two-thirds of those at Kartoum and Sennaar. I was engaged in a certain work, *i.e.*, to take down the garrisons, &c. It suited me altogether to accept this work (when once it was decided on to abandon the Soudan), which, to my idea, is preferable to letting it be under those wretched effete Egyptian Pashas. Her Majesty's Government agreed to send me. It was a mutual affair, they owe me positively nothing, and I owe them nothing. A Member of Parliament, in one of our last received papers, asked "whether officers were not supposed to go where they were ordered?" I quite agree with his view, but it cannot be said I was ordered to go. The subject was too complex for any order. It was "Will you go and try?" and my answer was, "Only too delighted." As for all that may be said of our holding out, &c., &c., it is all twaddle, for we had no option; as for all that may be said as to why I did not escape with Stewart, it is simply because the people would not have been such fools as to have let me go, so there is an end of those greatcoats of self-sacrifice, &c. Place before men the chance of success by holding out, and the certainty of death, or miserable captivity, if they give in, there is not much credit in holding out. I must add *in re*, "the people not letting me go," that even if they had been willing for me to go, I would not have gone and left them in their

misery. I think I say truly, I have never asked for a British expedition. I asked for two hundred men to be sent to Berber at a time when, Graham having beaten Osman Digma, one might have supposed there was no risk for those two hundred men, and I asked for Zubair.*

Baring offended Cuzzi, who revenged himself by betraying Berber. Baring *openly* announced "that no troops would come up to Berber," which was a gratuitous act on his part. We may be sure Cuzzi (who loves Baring) did not fail to tell this to the Mahdi, yet Baring pitched into me for indiscretion in asking *openly* for Zubair,** which I did on *purpose*, in order to save Her Majesty's Government the odium of such a step! As for Zubair's refusing to come up (as Cuzzi says he did), I put it down to some palace intrigue, and consider (if it is true) he was forced into saying so. If any Expedition comes up, I am grateful *officially* for the people's sake, but I consider that it is a *right* they possess, for, had not Egypt been interfered with, somewhat more than seven persons would have come up here, as reinforcements, between 21st November, 1883, when Hicks' defeat was known, and 19th September, 1884. *I* am grateful *personally*, because, as surely as the chief of that expedition comes up, I will put on him the burthen of the Govern-

* "On the 18th Feb., the day General Gordon arrived at Khartoum, he recommended in the strongest manner that Zubair should be sent up, and gave his reasons in detail."—*Egypt*, *No.* 12, 1884. *Enclosure in No.* 114.

"On March 9, Sir Evelyn Baring recommended that Zubair should go up, such a recommendation being in harmony with the policy of evacuation."—*Egypt*, *No.* 12, 1884, *in* 115 & 222.—ED.

** This cannot be traced.—ED.

ment (doing what I can to help him). I am unable to forget the sufferings of these peoples, owing to our want of decision *in re* Zubair, and no soft words will obliterate those sufferings from my memory. It is not over praiseworthy if one holds out, when, if you do *not*, your throat is cut.

I am deeply grateful to those who have prayed for us.

Any expeditionary force that may come up comes up for the honour of England, and England will be grateful, and I can hang the yoke of Government on some one else, for the solution of the problem.

Any one reading the telegram* 5th May, Suakin, 29th April, Massowah, and *without* date, Egerton saying, "Her Majesty's Government does not entertain your proposal to supply Turkish or other troops in order to undertake military operations in Soudan, and consequently if you stay at Kartoum you should state your reasons," might imagine one was luxuriating up here, whereas, I am sure, no one wishes more to be out of it than myself; the "*reasons*" are those horridly plucky Arabs.

I own to having been very insubordinate to Her Majesty's Government and its officials, but it is my nature, and I cannot help it. I fear I have not even tried to play battledore and shuttlecock with them. I know if *I* was chief I would never employ *myself*, for I am incorrigible. To men like Dilke, who weigh every word, I must be *perfect poison*. I wonder what the telegrams about Soudan have cost Her Majesty's Government? It has been truly a horrid question.

* Egypt, 1884, Nos. 201—56. See also Egypt, 1884, Nos. 35—166.

There is the TOWN El Obeyed and the SHEIKH El Obeyed; there is the Haloman of Cairo and the Haloman of Kartoum. Sanderson must have a hard time of it. "The *city* moves about!" "Why, if Haloman is attacked, Cairo must be in danger! Send for Wolseley! Kartoum forces defeated by Sheikh el Obeyed! Why, the town must have moved! Is not El Obeyed the place Hicks went to take? Most extraordinary! Send for Wolseley!"

"Eureka, I have found it out; there is a *man* called *El Obeyed* and a *town* called *El Obeyed.* When a movement occurs, it is the *man*, not the *town*, which has moved!" After *this* I shall hesitate to ask for any appointment from Foreign Office, and I shall get no more crisp bank-notes, as I used to do from old Cunnynghame in 1858-59 (when Alston was a boy, so to say), in those dingy rooms in Downing Street, now pulled down. One can fancy them saying "That brute of a Mahdi!" "That horrid resurrection of Stewart, Power, and Herbin at Dongola!" It will destroy all the *well earned repose* of Her Majesty's Government. As Sir Wilfrid Lawson (he is an *irregular*) said, "One day you will groan when you hear of Tel el Kebir." I think of *all* the pusillanimous *businesses* which happened in 1882 the flight of the Europeans from Alexandria before these wretched fellaheen troops, was the worst. Why, had they barricaded their streets, they would have held Alexandria against 50,000 of these poor things (like Abbot did his hotel and the Egyptian bank their offices). A more contemptible soldier than the Egyptian never existed. Here we never count on them; they are held in supreme contempt, poor creatures. *They* never go out to fight; it

would be perfectly iniquitous to make them. We tried it once, and they refused point blank to leave the steamers. We are keeping them in cotton wool to send down to Baring (if he has weathered the storm?)

"Blessed is the man who does not sit in the seat of the *scornful*" (Ps. i. 1). I own it is not right to scoff at one's superiors, but I do not do it in malice, and I hope those who are remarked upon will not be offended. Life is a very leaden business, and if any one can lighten it, so much the better. Because I criticise Baring, Egerton, and the Foreign Office, it is not that I think I am their superior, but because I would like them to see how others, outside themselves, view things. Because I may differ with them it is no reason why they may not be right, and acting uprightly, and I may be utterly wrong. I am sure the "Siren" Malet is conscientiously sure all he did in Egypt was right; if visited in Brussels one will see, at a glance, he is plainly content.

One of the most amusing things which struck me in Palestine, exemplifying how little worth the world's praise is, was an article in the *Times* describing the making of a D.C.L. at Oxford. Sir Charles Wilson received this honour. The *Times*, in remarking on the affair, mixed Wilson, R.E., up with Rivers Wilson of National Debt Office, and spoke of his "financial capacities" in Egypt. Of course Wilson, R.E., could not help thinking he had been robbing Wilson of National Debt Office of his renown, while Rivers Wilson felt hurt at being robbed of it. Two people were accordingly put out; while the innocent writer in the *Times*, when penning his article, was thinking how he could meet his rent (this is pure supposition). We

may be quite certain, that Jones cares more for where he is going to dine, or what he has got for dinner, than he does for what Smith has done, so we need not fret ourselves for what the world says. The article in the *Times* was a Mordecai to Wilson, R.E., and quite destroyed the pleasure of receiving the D.C.L.; yet the writer in the *Times* did all he could to exalt Wilson, R.E. I think the Press is first-rate, to ventilate articles; but when "we" come out, and praise or blame, I do not care a bit for "we"; for I have seen the "We's," and found them much as myself. I would never muzzle the press or its correspondents; they are most useful, and one cannot be too grateful to them (I own this more than any one), but I certainly think, that their province does not extend to praising or blaming a man, for by praising, or blaming, an assumption is made of superiority, for the *greater* only can do that, to the *inferior;* and no newspaper can arrogate that its correspondent is superior to the General (though I declare I think, sometimes, it may be the case).

Take for instance our defeat here, on the 16th March, which is put down to the treachery of the Pashas. Ten thousand articles in the *Times* will not make me think that their execution was not a judicial murder, yet probably the *Times* may say, I was justified: it alters not the affair with me, it is simply my intelligence against that of their correspondent; if the *Times* saw this in print, it would say, "Why, then, did you act as you did?" to which I fear I have no answer.

September 20.—Six escaped soldiers came in this morning with their arms; they say that the others

meditate a general rush for the lines to escape, that the Arabs are quite astonished at our being so quiet, and believe a mine is being driven under them. The men who came to-day said the Mahdi is still at Rahad! *not* at Schatt. One of these men was a perfect peacock with the patches on his dervish dress. Yesterday evening, while a gale was blowing, Waled a Goun took out the Krupp, meaning to bombard us, but he then took it back on Abou Gugliz' remonstrances, who said that we had stayed quiet for months, that he had made splendid fortresses, and that on one day we had burst on him, and broken him up.

A curious letter* was found written, just before Hicks' forces perished, by a high officer; it is in the terms, "Stranger, go tell the Lacedemonians we lie here, in obedience to their laws."

I have in a previous page abused the Egyptian soldier, but it is not just, for what possible interest can they take in warlike operations in the Soudan? The English beat them in Egypt, and then sent them up here to be massacred in detail. One may say the massacred ten thousand of Hick's army, at any rate, showed they could die, if they could not fight.

When we got hemmed in, a lot of slaves belonging to masters in Kartoum got cut off. They have been coming in in driblets ever since, and we made the men soldiers, and the women were freed; this of course bore hard on their masters, who thus lost their slaves, so I have determined to compensate these masters, at rate of £7 per man, £5 per woman, being an inferior article. Certainly I would make "Plutarch's Lives" a handbook for our young officers; it

* Appendix F.

is worth any numbers of "Arts of War" or "Minor Tactics."

Some accounts in the *Gazette*, describing reasons for giving the Victoria Cross, are really astounding, such as a man who, with another, was sent out on a reconnaissance, this other was wounded, and his companion waited for him, and took him on his horse, saving his life! What would we have said, had he left his companion? Lots of these cases pass by unheeded, which, if read by "Plutarch's Lives," would be simply a man's duty. A soldier is bound entirely to his work as a soldier, he can never do more than his duty, and his *métier* is the Field; therefore he deserves nothing, for he is already paid for that *métier*, and not for garrison or home life. The original idea of the Victoria Cross was to give the subaltern officers, non-commissioned officers, and men a decoration, which would take the place of the Bath, to ranks below that of Major, which by the statutes of the Bath could not be done; then came the mistake to give the Victoria Cross for deeds of *éclat*, and so now it is. I like that old Iron Duke with his fearful temper: he told a friend of my father, who was bewailing his long and meritorious service, "That he ought to be —— glad the country had kept him so long." I wish Wolseley would take up this line, and get some quixotic chivalry into us: that it is possible I feel sure, for we are the same men as before. In three campaigns, out of four of late years, no officer or soldier has gone through such privations or dangers, as are gone through by our naval officers and sailors in gunboats, in various parts of the world, yet these latter would be scoffed at if they pleaded these privations, in order to get reward.

A man defends a post, if he loses it his throat is cut; why give him a Victoria Cross? and if given, why not give it to all who were with him? they equally with him defended their throats. The men I should like to see cross-questioned on the country they are in are our Generals, whose whole time is taken up in their offices with courts-martial, &c., &c., an occasional day being devoted to moving men about in formations, which are never put into execution in the Field? The *métier* of a General is the Field, not the office; it is as if all their time is to be taken up with the horse in the stable, not in the country, whereas the latter is the most important. I should like to see Wolseley trot out the generals over their districts; ask them the routes, their proposed distribution of men in case of attack, and water-supply to Forts. I do not think it is generally known that if a gunboat cut the sea-wall near Cooling on Thames, the Cliffe and Shornemead Forts are cut off from main land, and that the Thames would come up to high lands, and be ten miles wide. There is one man only that I know who has the gift of questioning, because he knows every part of the coast, Sir W. Jervois; and if Wolseley has not the time, he would do schoolmaster. Of course, this is all fearful treason and presumption.

Spy in Halfeyeh states Stewart's steamers have recaptured the two steamers I had lost at Berber, and had no fighting to speak of; that the English troops are advancing on Ambukol,* half way between Debbeh and Merowé, and had defeated the Arabs.

A young black soldier has just escaped from the Arabs; he was pursued by three horsemen and some

* About 180 miles from Kartoum.—ED.

footmen, and he kept blazing away at them till he got into the lines. He says he killed two of his pursuers.

I wrote a letter* to Abdel Kader, the old sheikh on South Front, and sent him a packet of soap with the letter, as he had lamented to one of our men, who had escaped, that he had none. I daresay he will think the packet is a mine!

I have ordered the sale of five hundred ardebs of Government dhoora: no one family to purchase more than two ardebs.

The capture of the steamers at Berber cuts off the Arabs of Berber from those on other side.

With the young soldier who escaped were three others, but their hearts failed them, and they were recaptured. I fear they will suffer, but no physical suffering will change the heart, hence I do not believe in purgatory.

The *Towfikia* steamer went up to Giraffe, and as the Arabs had a sort of sneaking affection for the place, we put down twenty self-exploding mines, to deter them from going there. The worst of it is, our domestic matches have run out, and we cannot make any substitute, so we have to fall back on the powder-hose, connecting groups of ten. I think good wire entanglements, with mines, will defend any place, if one has anything like moderate troops behind the parapet. Wire entanglement ought to be twenty yards in depth, mixed with it the earth-mines. No field artillery will neutralize their effects, and only a continuous bombardment of days would destroy them.

A man has come in from Shendy, who corroborates the advance of the expeditionary force and the defeat

* Appendix G.

of the Arabs. Another came in, who says the *Abbas* passed down safely, and that the steamers *Mansowrah* and *Saphia* are on their return, but says nothing of capture of the two steamers at Berber.

Another escaped soldier came in.

The Arabs took the man with the flag of truce (I sent out with letter to Abdel Kader, the old sheikh) into their lines; he took a *letter* from the Ulemas to the Mahdi.

Tolerably good information says that the Mahdi has written to the tribes about here, telling them to submit to our authority, and to fight no more, to pay taxes, &c.; that if he is the Mahdi, then Turks and all men will eventually acknowledge him, without any more fighting, &c. We have this from two separate sources. I think he feels that to fail here would lead to his fall, and so he will come to terms in order to keep Kordofan, as I originally proposed to him.

Faki Mustapha (the man who commanded Arabs on left bank), has sent in to say he never wrote the impertinent letter E,* to which his seal was not.

The doctor took a stone as big as a swan's-egg from a man to-day.

There is nothing like a civil war to show what skunks men are. One of my greatest worries are the Shaggyeh, who are continually feathering towards me, or towards the Mahdi. I expect both sides despise them equally. According to history, the same thing went on during the reign of James II. When William of Orange landed, Queen Anne's husband the Prince of Denmark did not show well in the affair, and I expect that the Empress Eugenie could say a good deal

* Appendix E.

for "Rats," during her time. I must say I cordially hate them, and if I had my way, I would smite the Shaggyeh, but policy says "give them rope." I have told them distinctly, that I know it is self-interest alone which rules them, which however is a platitude, for it governs most of us.

September 21.—Six more escaped soldiers came in with their rifles to-day. They say the Arabs are furious at losing their Peacock dervish (who was one of their officers) yesterday, and also at the constant desertions, and have written to the Mahdi to ask whether they are to kill these blacks or not. The Mahdi hired one thousand camels at $3 a head, to bring dhoora to the Arab camp, but the people who engaged to do this, bolted with the money and the camels into the interior. The Mahdi is at Schatt.*

Messengers have arrived at Omdurman, saying that mixed force of British and Indian troops at Debbeh, on the Nile, north of Dongola, and that they had defeated a party of dervishes.

The Greek, who came in a few days ago from the Arabs, said the Mahdi had given Cuzzi an ointment to rub on his body, which would keep him in odour of sanctity!

Halfeyeh reports a foraging party of Arabs between Halfeyeh and Shoboloha.**

The three messengers from Dongola came in with two cipher telegrams from Egerton of same import, not legible, for want of cipher, which Stewart carried off. Some photograph letters which I could only

* Between forty and fifty miles west of Duem.—Ed.

** A pass about midway between Shendy and Halfeyeh.—Ed.

partially make out, and notes from Floyer,* and Kitchener** saying forces were coming up. Letter from Mudir Dongola saying he had beaten the Arabs four

* "*London*, 12*th*.—Debates on Egypt, House of Commons, subject Egypt. Gladstone declined communicate Northbrook's instructions. Declared Anglo-French accord dead letter.

"13*th*.—Financiers—German, Austrian, Russian—attack England's attitude. Conference considered must lead coalition against England. Fitzmaurice stated British Government not prepared change advice given Egypt withdraw from Kartoum.

"13*th*.—Parliament closed till 15th September. Message hopes mission Northbrook suggest useful counsels. England will continue to fulfil public duties imposed upon her by events in Egypt.

"17*th August*.—The 88th, 46th, and 56th regiments, with expedition of 19th Hussars and corps of Mounted Infantry, go to Halfa.

"*London*, 19*th*.—General Erle commands expedition Halfa. Buller chief of staff."

"DEAR GENERAL GORDON,

"I send you the above as the last public news we have heard. I have been appointed Inspector General of the Soudan Telegraph, but at present I can't get beyond Debba to inspect them, as Mr. Hudai has captured the Merowi telegraph office, and the Sirdar will not let us advance. I am ordered back to Halfa, and am leaving by boat this morning. With kind regards to Colonel Stewart,

"Yours sincerely,

"E. A. FLOYER.

"Debba, 22nd August, 1884."

** "DEAR STEWART,

"Can I do anything for you or General Gordon? I should be awfully glad if you will let me know. The relief expedition is evidently coming up this way, but whether they will go by Berber or attempt the direct road from here I do not know. The Mahdi is in a bad way; he has abandoned Parfur, and has no reinforcements to send to Kartoum and Sennaar, which are asked for.

"Yours always,

"H. H. KITCHENER."

times before the British advance! I have made him Pasha, and asked for the Order of St. Michael and St. George for him from the Khedive. I have ordered *three* guns to be fired from all the guns at 4 P.M. as a salute, and to warn the Arabs something is up. I shall send down spies to-morrow. I gave the *three* £50, and gave them each £10, with promise they will be paid £10 more when they get to Dongola. They say they had nothing given them on starting! which is curious if true.

Three more escaped soldiers came in this afternoon. They say the Arabs have disarmed all the black troops, and have told them to go where they liked, so I expect we will have a lot in to-morrow.

We fired a salute of three rounds from each gun on lines, to let the Arabs know of the advance expeditionary force. The men who came in say the Arabs were fully expecting an attack, and were in a great way.

I send down to-morrow a telegram to Cairo, which will settle the business as far as I am concerned. It is thus couched: "If you remove me from being Governor-General then all responsibility is off me; but if you keep me as Governor-General then I will, *at the cost of my commission* in Her Majesty's Service, see all refugees out of this country."

The Arabs in reply to this salute of three guns fired nine shots against the lines to-night, two of which passed over our lines—a sort of revenge for our salute.

The man who went up with the letter came back with two letters* and the soap, *which was refused.*

* Appendices K and L.

Our salute, which was replied to by the Arabs by shotted guns, made us fire shotted guns in reply; and the "man who came in with the soap" says our guns killed twenty men, which I fear is an exaggeration. This man says the Arabs are in a bad state, with little food. They threatened to kill him. I sent out letter* in answer.

September 22.—One escaped slave came in to-day. The Berber steamers are said to be coming up river. Sent out two hundred men from Halfeyeh to drive off foraging parties of Arabs investing roads from that place to Shoboloha.

The *Saphia* and *Mansowrah* have returned from Berber. *They passed the Abbas*, that is about all, and I am grateful for that. They carried out my orders. Colonel Stewart's letter reports in detail. The steamers lost three killed, and had four wounded. They saw the two captured steamers under the bank.

NB.—When self-acting mines are placed, it is as well to connect them with twine to facilitate taking them up.

September 23.—The men who went out to drive back the marauders between Halfeyeh and Shoboloha have come back. They drove back the Arabs and captured a lot of things.

During the blockade here, viz., from say March 12th till to-day September 22nd we have expended—

3,240,770 Remington . .
1,570 Krupp gun . . } cartridges.
9,442 Mountain gun .

* Appendix M.

Of the Remington cartridges perhaps 240,000 may have been captured by enemy, so that we fired 3,000,000 away; and I expect the Arabs lost perhaps 1000 in all. Each Arab killed needed 3,000 cartridges. We have left here—

2,242,000 Remington . .
660 Krupp gun . . } cartridges,
8,490 Mountain gun .

and we turn out 50,000 Remington cartridges a week.

Fifty Arab horsemen came down on our foraging party who were outside Bourré, but the steamer drove them back.

No escaped soldiers came in to-day. I expect they are all close prisoners.

There are fifty nuggars at Berber with the Arabs.

I am sure I should like that fellow Egerton. There is a light-hearted jocularity about his communications, and I should think the cares of life sat easily on him. Notice the slip in margin. He wishes to know *exactly* "day, hour, and minute" that he (Gordon) expects to be in "difficulties as to provisions and ammunition."*

* "DEAR GENERAL GORDON,

"Mr. Egerton has asked me to send you the following:—'August 30th. Tell Gordon steamers are being passed over second cataracts, and that we wish to be informed through Dongola exactly when he expects to be in difficulties as to provisions and ammunition.' Message ends, 'Lord Wolseley is coming out to command. The 35th Regiment is now being sent from Halfa to Dongola. Sir E. Wood is at Halfa. General Earle, Dormer, Buller, and Freemantle are coming up Nile with troops. I think an expedition will be sent across from here to Kartoum, while another goes with steamer to Berber. A few words about what you wish done would be very acceptable. Yours,

"H. H. KITCHENER, R.E.

"Debbeh, August 31st."

Now I really think if Egerton was to turn over the "archives" (a delicious word) of his office, he would see we had been in difficulties for provisions for some months. It is as if a man on the bank, having seen his friend in river already bobbed down two or three times, hails, "I say, old fellow, let us know when we are to throw you the life buoy, I know you have bobbed down two or three times, but it is a pity to throw you the life buoy until you really are *in extremis*, and I want to know *exactly*, for I am a man brought up in a school of exactitude, though I did *forget* (?) to date my June telegram about *that Bedouin escort contract*."

Turn to page 114, "Send for Wolseley," &c. I see that they did send for him just a month before; "nasty moving cities, and *very* nasty Soudan."

Egerton's cipher telegram,* which I cannot decipher through Stewart having taken the book, is short, but I

* "Cairo, August 20th, 10.30 P.M.

"To General Gordon,

"445737—905309—185115—417291—552676—792996—271381—511906—689363—945242—226739—648255—102037—626054—535222—672318—277535—134971—467430—203151—804960—483289—681510."

The following was written on the back of this cipher telegram:—

"Your letters of 13/7/84 and 20/7/84 have been received, and their contents telegraphed on. The last news here is the 35th Regiment has been ordered to advance from Halfa to Dongola at once. General Earle commands expedition, Buller C. of S., Dormer and Freemantle brigades. All coming up. Lord Wolseley leaves London directly to take over supreme command. All well here. Mudir working well. No danger. Sir E. Wood is at Halfa sending on troops.

"H. H. Kitchener.

"Debbeh, 29th August, 1884."

feel sure is weighty, and I regret deeply I cannot get at its contents, which I think would afford matter for amusing comment.

The Mudir of Dongola sent me a telegram which is on other side.* He tells me of the extreme anxietude which pervaded Cairo (when they heard Berber had fallen, and it was rumoured Kartoum had ditto), for the retirement of the Dongola people. "Throw things into the river," &c., "but come away," "we are very fond of you," "useless to stay," &c., &c. The Mudir laughs over it, I think, and saw the kind instruction, "raise barrier on barrier between Kartoum and its sister beleagured cities and Cairo; let us hear the last of these moving cities and Halomans." What awful disgust at this resurrection! I made the Mudir a Pasha; he was an old officer of mine. When I came up I ordered him down, as my orders were to *organize country with Soudanese employés*, not that he was bad. Cairo (how they must wring their hands over it now) remonstrated and asked me to leave him, which I did, and he saved Dongola, and indirectly Kartoum, for had I put a native in he would have gone over to the Mahdi, like Hussein Pasha Khalifa did, and then I really think that the tomb would have been securely sealed, and R. I. P. to all of us. When one thinks that *Cairo saved us* by interfering with my removal of this man, it must add bitterness to the cup they have to drink! The telegrams about this man's reinstatement, and my answer, are in Stewart's journal about the month of March.

* Telegram Mudir of Dongola, saying Cairo Government had shown pressing benevolence for him to evacuate and thus *rivet* the "*tombstone*" over Kartoum.—ED.

I am arranging attack on Berber with four steamers and Krupps, as soon as steamers come from Sennaar.

Spies with letters started for Dongola yesterday.

I hope Stewart will get hold of all copies of telegrams sent to us from Cairo for his journal, and which the Arabs captured (lovely reading!), also that he will find out result of Hewitt's Mission to King John, and of Baring's negotiations for opening of "the road from Suakin and Berber," he spoke about on the 29th of March! which caused hilarity up here, and which led to his angering Cuzzi, who, idiot-like, questioned the sagacity and success of the step, and, getting turned out, paid us both (in all probability) by betraying Berber to the Arabs.

Egerton is a statistician, he evidently is collecting material for some great work. What earthly use is it to us for Egerton "to know exactly our want of provisions," when he is 1500 miles away! I am vexed at not getting at the pith of his cipher telegram, all I can see is that 7775 (Zubair's name) is *not* in it.

I am preparing to clear out of the palace, *in toto*, leaving the telegraph only, and go into the Mudiriat, so there will be plenty of room for the staff, if they come up, which is even now a question to me.

From Lord Northbrook coming out, I infer that Baring has returned to Cairo, and that my friend Egerton has gone back to the Acropolis. I hope he will say a good word to the King of Hellenes in favour of Leonidas, the Greek Consul here, who has behaved worthy of his ancestor of Thermopylæ, on a small scale.

I have a firm conviction we will not do anything in Egypt that will succeed, unless we fall into accord with France, which would not be difficult to do.

Arabi Pasha's private secretary, who even Stewart with all his Job-like patience had to give up as a bad job, came to-day to say "he was starving," so I have given him £10 a month again. How he ever got on with Arabi is a wonder; he and Stewart used to spend hours, hob and nob, translating Arabic letters, and then Stewart found out that the man had just exercised his own imaginations and taken not the least pains to give the sense of these letters' contents.

The Shaggyeh are breaking my heart with their family quarrels. I shall go to Halfeyeh (*D.V.*) to-morrow to see after them. They captured five men who had been pardoned, and had gone back to the Arabs, and want me to kill them, which I refuse to do, for who are the rebels? we or the Arabs. I am responsible for the judicial murder of the two Pashas; beyond this I have put no man to death.

I think Colonel Stewart is hard on our men as to their cowardice; they are not heroes, I grant, but they are not, to my mind, entire cowards; "they do not see it," that is all; but if they are put in a position where there is a chance, a *fair* chance of success, they will take advantage of it and be plucky. The Chinese are of the same temperament. "No two piecey man can stay one place, supposing you come, I must go." This is an acknowledged maxim in the East.

A spy came in, and says that Sheikh el Obeyed has news in his camp *that Abdel Kader Pasha* (what a

bother for Sanderson all these Abdel Kaders who he may mix up with the one of Algier) *is with troops at Kassala.*

Two more mines exploded at Omdurman when they were being taken up to renew the fuses, but did no harm.

I saw the Shaggyeh chief Abdul Hamed to-day. He says that Said and Ibrahim Hassan Pashas* were *not guilty*, and that the Arabs looted their houses when they heard they had been killed by me, which they would not have done had they been really in communication with them. I shall send for their families and give them each £1000, which is all I can do.

The *Towfikia* went up and had her usual fight with the Arabs.

Report is that a soldier has taken the breech pieces of the two Krupp guns with the Arabs, and has run away, rendering them useless.

If Abdel Kader is at Kassala what on earth are our people about not to tell me, for of course I could help him. We seem to have lost our heads in the Intelligence Department, though it costs enough money.

As for "*evacuation*," it is one thing; as for "*ratting out*," it is another. I am quite of advice as to No. 1 (as we have not the decision to keep the country), but I will be no party to No. 2 (this "rat" business), 1st, because it is *dishonourable;* 2nd, because it is not *possible* (*which will have more weight*); therefore, if it is

* The two black Pashas condemned to death by court-martial for treachery on March 20th.

going to be No. 2, *the troops had better not come beyond Berber till the question of what will be done is settled.* So I will end this book.

C. G. GORDON.

23 *Sept.*, 1884.

N.B.—To be copied and read by Colonel Stewart, if he likes, and extracts given Mr. Power (as by promise). Afterwards to be given to Miss Gordon, Southampton, if not wanted by the Foreign Office.

BOOK II.

Upon outside wrapper:

COLONEL STEWART, C.M.G.,

OR

CHIEF OF THE STAFF, SOUDAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

JOURNAL EVENTS, KARTOUM, 23 TO 30 SEPT., 1884.

Contains no secrets as far as I am concerned. Official parts those not scratched through. Contains map of Berber; large scale.

CHIEF OF THE STAFF, SOUDAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

For LT.-COL. STEWART, C.M.G. If not with the army, for GENERAL LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B.

On Book itself:

II.

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL.

FROM 23 SEPTEMBER TILL 30 SEPTEMBER.

C. G. GORDON.

N.B.—Will require pruning down if published.

C. G. GORDON.

23/9/84.

Upon inside:

II.

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL.

FROM 23 SEPTEMBER TILL , 1884.

N.B.—It will require to be pruned out, if published.

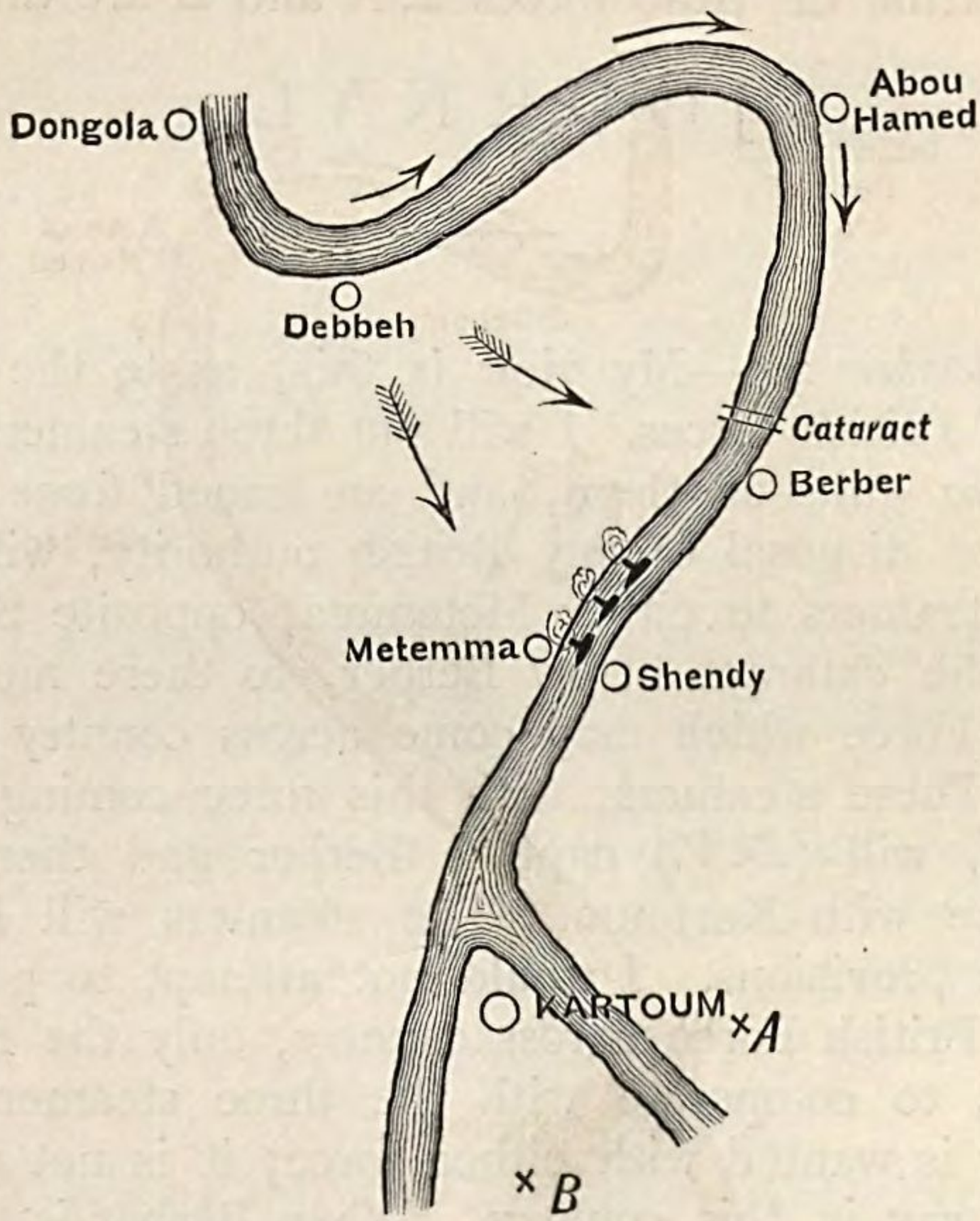
C. G. GORDON.

23/9/84.

JOURNAL.

September 24.—My view is this, as to the operations of British forces. I will put three steamers, each with two guns on them, and an armed force of infantry at disposal of any British authority, will send these steamers to either Metemma, opposite Shendy, or to the cataract below Berber, to there meet any British Force which may come across country to the Nile. These steamers, with this force coming across country, will (*D. V.*) capture Berber and then communicate with Kartoum. The steamers will have a month's provisions. I would not attempt to pass the *bulk* of British Force across country, only the fighting column, to co-operate with the three steamers. No artillery is wanted with either force; it is not needed in any way in this country. When Berber is taken I should keep the bulk of the forces there, and send up the fighting column to Kartoum, after having arranged for its provisions, for I cannot feed them; then, in combination with us, clear out rebels from A to B,—an affair of a week; then decide on your future policy. It is absolutely necessary to understand that we can-

not hurry over this affair.* If we do we will incur disaster. I have spoken of the division of British forces into two lots, one a small fighting column co-operating across country with the steamers which will meet them, where you like, on the left bank of the White Nile; the other, composed of bulk, *without*

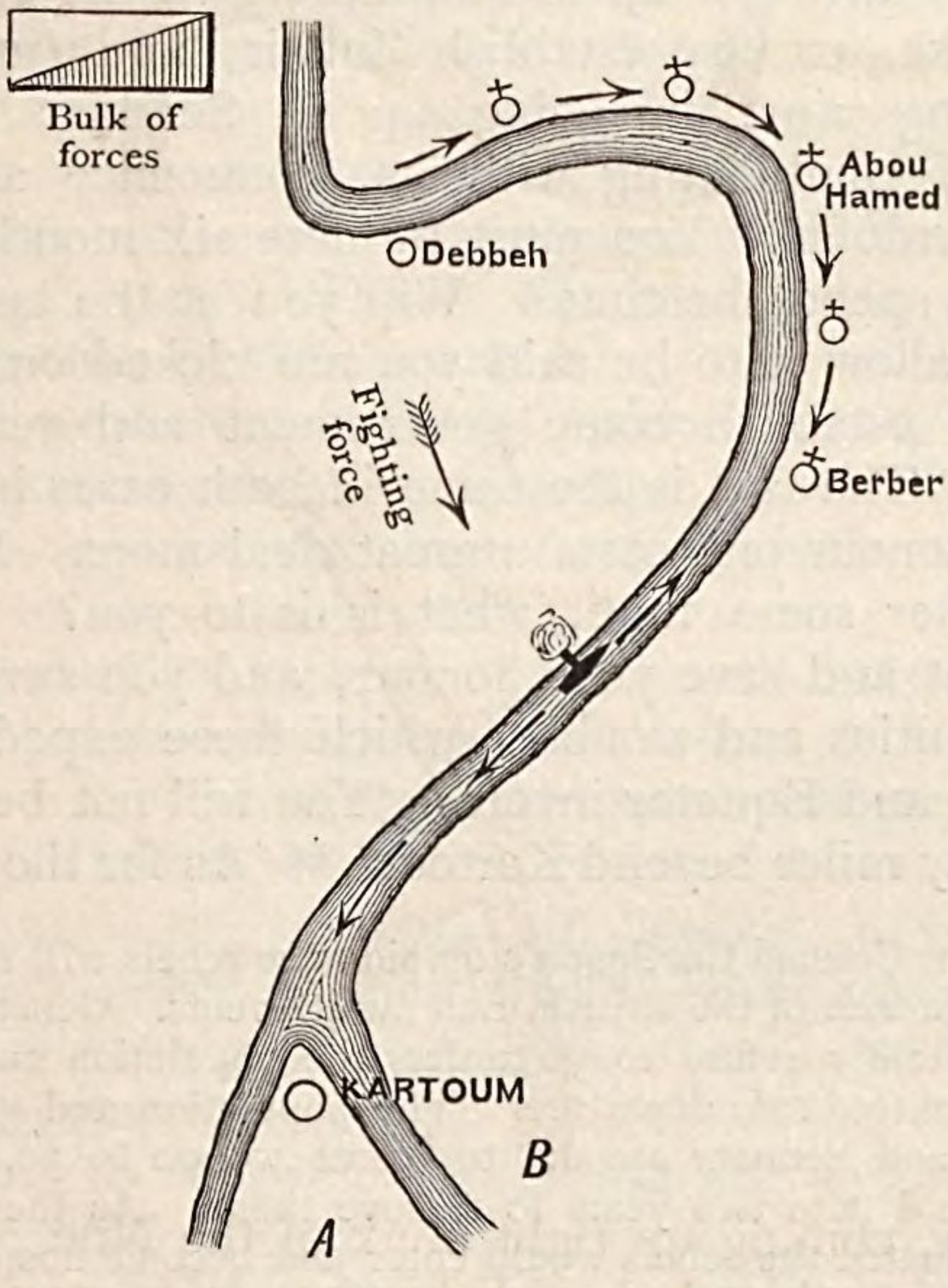


artillery, coming up right bank of the Nile. Now if I were doing this, I should, by the *Abbas* steamer, work up by Merowé,** Abou Hamed, to Berber, by a *series of small stations* with small garrisons. I should at

* *I.e.*, the future of the Soudan.—Ed.
** *I.e.*, 4th Cataract.—Ed.

once get on each step of the Nile ladder steam launches from Cairo, &c., and put them in the open strips as previously explained in page 49 of my journal, Vol. No. 1.* I then have my route open to Dongola where the bulk of the forces remain.

Saying the chain of posts is established, that, in the interim, the Arab forces at A and B are dispersed,



then you say *evacuate*. Well, without moving the bulk, and, with the aid of the fighting column, you can get down the Sennaar lot, while steamers can bring down

* *I.e.*, p. 107.—ED.

the Equator and Bahr Gazelle garrisons. Now this will take at least six months from the *present date* (for you will *not* come for *a month*). You then begin your downward march, and are harassed all the way,* and the Mahdi will say he kicked you out. You see you are in for six months, and if you evacuate all your prestige vanishes. It is therefore, I say, either, when once you have got up to Kartoum, give the country to the Turks, or else establish Zubair, and (instead of expending time in going up to Sennaar and the Equator) combinating with us, commence an attack upon Kordofan. You must be here six months. How will you spend the time? Will you at the end of six months allow it to be said you are kicked out, or will you not establish some government and retire with dignity. The *cost* is the same in both cases in money; but in honour one costs a great deal more. If Zubair falls, after some time, what is it to you? You did your best and save your honour, and you save a mint of difficulties and troubles, which these expeditions to Sennaar and Equator involve. You will not be obliged to go fifty miles beyond Kartoum.** As for the Equator,

* "In Colonel Coetlogon's opinion the rebels will retire south on the approach of the British, and await events. General Gordon would certainly refuse to go unless the population and garrison were guaranteed safe departure. The population and garrisons of Kartoum and Sennaar amount to about 40,000 to 50,000 souls, and it would take two years to remove them. As the places become evacuated the rebels would enter and become hostile in front and in the rear."—*Times*, 13 *Sept.*, 1884.—ED.

** General Gordon proposed to the Government to give to the King of the Belgians the Bahr Gazelle and Equatorial provinces, and from the first time he suggested the appointment of Zubair, he had determined to defend those provinces from all slave raids. —ED.

give it to me, and I will (*D.V.*) keep it from Zubair. It is a thousand pities to give up Kartoum to the Mahdi when there is a chance of keeping it under Zubair.

The fighting force can take the guns of the steamers, if they need artillery; they are very good guns and have field carriages with limbers. I shall not send down the castellated barges or the Krupp guns. Should you cross the desert *en masse*, the way to guard your communications is to occupy, with a company, all the wells in a good large radius, for the Arabs cannot come down on your line of communication, not being able to get water. This is the only way to deal with the Bedouins, or slave hunters.

The elephants came up by the wells of Gabra,* direct from Debbeh to Kartoum. Care should be taken on approaching Omdurman, for there are rather a timid lot there (fellaheen).

You must consider whether you will not send down those dreadful Bashi Bazouks, the scum of Alexandria, and the fellaheen soldiers, on arrival, for they are of little use, and eat us up.

For my part, I should not hesitate to ride down with three hundred men (having taken precaution to have made arrangements with the Kababish tribe) from Kartoum to Debbeh.

There is no difficulty in making flying bridges across the Nile with the country boats, however wide, using telegraph wire twisted in six or eight strands.

Seyd Mahomet Osman's little boy, aged nine years, was caught by Arabs, and behaved like a hero: "He

* The Gabra wells are about thirty miles to the northwest of Kartoum.—Ed.

was not going to be a Dervish. He was as much the Mahdi as Mahomet Achmet; and they might kill him if they liked, &c. He was going to stay with the Government and Gordon Pasha." They left him alone.

The Sandjak described the scene as splendid: the little fellow with flaming eyes, gesticulating and stamping with fury.

"U. S. C.,* 6.30 P.M.—Did you ever hear of such a thing? ——** is appointed —— to ——. A more barefaced job never *was* perpetrated. Why, the man has done nothing, *absolutely* nothing. Atrocious! But *what* can you expect? The whole lot of them are off again, a regular autumn flight! What! eh! *you will see them all at Christmas*" (waxing more wrath). "I declare I have half a mind to go to the Mahdi," &c. Page interrupts: "Lady —— is waiting in the brougham." Collapse and exit.

I cannot too much impress on you that this expedition will not encounter any enemy worth the name in an European sense of the word; the struggle is with the climate and destitution of the country. It is one of time and patience, and of small parties of determined men, backed by native allies, which are got by policy and money. A heavy lumbering column, however strong, is nowhere in this land. Parties of forty or sixty men, swiftly moving about, will do more than any column. If you lose two or three, what of it—it is the chance of war. Native allies above all things, at whatever cost. It is the country of the irregular, not of the regular. If you move in mass you will find no

* United Service Club.—ED.
** The blanks are General Gordon's.—ED.

end of difficulties; whereas, if you let detached parties dash out here and there, you will spread dismay in the Arab ranks. The time to attack is the dawn, or rather before it (this is stale news), but sixty men would put these Arabs to flight just before dawn, which one thousand would not accomplish in daylight. This was always Zubair's tactics. The reason is that the strength of the Arabs is their horsemen, who do not dare to act in the dark. I do hope you will not drag on that artillery: it can only produce delay and do little good. I can say I owe the defeats in this country to having artillery with me, which delayed me much, and it was the artillery with Hicks which, in my opinion, did for him.*

Ten thousand times better for us to perish than for you to run the risk; and besides that, I have a confident belief we will not (*D.V.*) perish. The usual

* The following extract from Herodotus is pasted on the opposite side of page in the original journal:—"The spies having seen everything returned home; and when they reported all they had passed, Cambyses marched against the Ethiopians without making any provision for the subsistence of his army, or once considering that he was going to carry his arms to the remotest parts of the world; but as a madman and not in possession of his senses, as soon as he heard the reports of the Ichthyophagi he set out on his march . . . but before the army had passed over a fifth part of the way all the provisions were exhausted, and after the provisions the beasts of burden were eaten. Now if Cambyses had then led back his army he would have proved himself a wise man. He, however, went on; but afterwards none, except the Ammonians, and those who have heard their reports, are able to give account of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians or returned back, but the report was that heaps of sand covered them over and they disappeared." General Gordon has written against this extract:—"Hicks' army disappeared. This expedition was made into these lands."—ED.

hammer and tongs fusillade will go on, but they will not attack the place, and we will not go out against them; while you will creep on quietly and safely, and send out your feelers, making raids upon these Arabs. I would let Buller have full swing for all these little biting expeditions. I believe he is well off (and I think not married, which is an enormous advantage); and he and his subordinates will learn scouting, &c., in a good school. It is this very same warfare we will have to exercise if ever we would oppose Russia in her advance on Afghanistan—*i.e.*, of going up and landing in the Persian Gulf, and cutting in on their flank. So it will be a good school for him and his.

The wretched peasant, with that filthy cloth, which you see, is a determined warrior, who can undergo thirst and privation, who no more cares for pain or death than if he were of stone. The young fellows even have a game by which they test who will bear the lash of the hippopotamus' whip best. They are in their own land; the pains of war are their ordinary life; and they are supported by religion of a fanatical kind, influenced by the memory of years of suffering at the hands of an effete set of Bashi Bazouks. No; if our Kentish or Yorkshire boys are to come up to help me, it is not with my wish, unless with the greatest precaution. Thank God we have few Europeans here, and those I can (*D.V.*) care for, and you need not fear for our retreat; and if we die, why, when we entered the army we sold our lives at so much a day. I verily believe no merchant would give me £200, which, to me, is the current value of *the man* in this world.

It is the most extraordinary thing, quite incom-

prehensible, that with only one exception, that of Zubair's man who came from Cairo (with Egerton's famous despatch about contracts), not one single messenger has entered this place on the proper initiative of outsiders. It has been invariably *my* messengers, who were sent out by me, from Kartoum, who did bring me any news. It would seem as if those outside seemed to think it was my duty to send out and bring in news for myself, and that they had nothing to do with it. Either these officers outside do not care to spend a sou in spies to give me information, or else they think it is a matter of supreme indifference, whether I know what is going on or not; and I must say when my messengers do come back, they bring me scarcely any information of import. There is a lot of "I hope you are well," &c.; men like Kitchener and Chermside might be expected to have more brains than that.* If I had not exerted myself in the spy business, we never would have had a word, I verily believe. I never saw such a poor lot as these outsiders. Even if they had had to pay £20 out of their own pockets, one might have expected them to do it, considering the circumstances. They might have been paid back. But neither Her Majesty's Ministers in Cairo, nor these men have seemed to care a jot to inform us. Silly foolish questions are all we ever have got from them, and it is not to be wondered at, that I am indignant with such unpatriotic conduct, and not inclined to be over civil beyond my duty. I never saw such a feeble lot in my life! One has only to

* General Gordon was under the impression that Colonel Chermside was at Debbeh, whereas he was, in fact, at Suakin.—ED.

compare the telegrams, &c., we sent down, with the *rubbish* sent in by *our own messengers I* paid for.

Two children and three escaped soldiers came in to-day from the Arabs, but had no news.

Read "Floyer's" telegram, with Kitchener's note to Stewart on same paper—it perfectly exasperates one. Kitchener asks Stewart "what he can do for him"—nothing of what has gone on with respect to the Soudan since Graham's expedition. Of course men are not *obliged* to write at all.

I altogether *decline* the imputation that the projected expedition has come to *relieve me.* It has *come to SAVE OUR NATIONAL HONOUR in extricating the garrisons, &c., from a position our action in Egypt has placed these garrisons. I was relief expedition No.* 1. They are *relief expedition No.* 2. As for myself I could make good my retreat at any moment if I wished. Now realise what would happen if this *first relief expedition* was to bolt and the steamers fell into the hands of the Mahdi: *this second relief expedition* (for the honour of England engaged in extricating garrisons) would be somewhat hampered. We the *first* and *second* expeditions are equally engaged for the honour of England. This is fair logic. *I came up to extricate the garrisons and failed. Earle comes up to extricate garrisons and (I hope) succeeds. Earle does not come to extricate me.** The extrication of the garrisons was supposed to affect our "national honour."

* The primary object of the expedition up the Valley of the Nile is to bring away General Gordon and Colonel Stewart from Kartoum. When that object has been secured no further offensive operations of any kind are to be undertaken.—*Egypt, No.* 35, 1884; *No.* 157.—ED.

If Earle succeeds the "national honour" thanks him and I hope rewards him, but it is altogether independent of me, who for failing incurs its blame. I am not the *rescued lamb*, and I will not be.

Had Gessi dared to have communicated with me like these men have, he would have heard of it; but he never did.

The *Towfikia* steamer went up and saw no Arabs at Giraffe to-day.

Look at this: I send down a spy, A. Kitchener and Co. send him back with answer. If Kitchener and Co. thought, they would know that A., being seen passing to and fro, must incur suspicion; however, A. happily gets through *with risk* (not having, by the way, had one penny from K. and Co.); then all communication stops till I sent down B. What is K. doing at Debbeh? that he could not write a better letter than to tell me the names of the generals and regiments—a matter of the most supreme indifference to Kartoum.

September 25.—Arabs came down to the Blue Nile in some force, but the *Mansowrah* going up, and our men pushing along the bank, they all fled. I am going to Halfeyeh to see the Shaggyeh, who are the worry of my heart. Having gone down, I found a very fair market, and the Shaggyehs less irritating than I expected to find them.

Question. What was the policy of her Majesty's Government in sending up General Gordon?

Answer. To endeavour to retire the garrisons *by quiet means.*

Question. What is the object of General Earle's expedition?

Answer. The same. General Gordon having failed.

Question. If General Earle's expedition is for the retreat of General Gordon and ends there, what is the result?

Answer. Her Majesty's Government agree *that they abandon the garrisons.*

There is no possible escape from the situation.

According to accounts from Bourré, the Arabs had come down in some force at night, and had hid in villages near Bourré, meaning to fall upon our foraging parties; they did not bargain for the *Mansowrah* coming up with her two guns, and so caught a Tartar when they emerged to attack our men, and went off in great confusion and some loss.

An escaped soldier came in from the Arabs—no news. He was so dreadfully itchy, I could not keep my patience, or keep him in my room. He saw himself in the mirror, and asked who it was; said he did not know! and really he did not seem to know. It stands to reason that in countries where there are no mirrors, every one must be a complete stranger to himself, and would need an introduction.

I wrote to Waled a Goun, Arab commander-in-chief, as follows:—"I went to Halfeyeh to see Shaggyeh, found five men there; they wanted me to kill them, for being of your family, who had gone back to you after pretending to join me. I questioned these five men; they said they could not bear the smell of you, and that the Shaggyehs had wanted their things, and so had invented the accusation. I have no scales to weigh the truth—perhaps Mahomet

Achmet Mahdi has—so, as you have sent me many soldiers of late, I send you these men. I have taken the body of your Peacock" (alluding to the man who came in with the wonderful Dervish dress), "but I send you the plumage of your bird on another body." I have put the dress on one of the men I sent out.

"Why did you run away so swiftly to-day? was Abou Gugliz there? It could not be you, for you said so much about your desire to die at the fortifications."

"As for knowing the truth in the Soudan it is impossible, for the devils of lying and robbery are riding all over the country."

I gave them a dollar each; they leave to-morrow. I have also given them a captured Arab flag and a captured Dervish cap each, so they will go out a grand procession, and as it is their Sunday (Friday), they will arrive at church parade.

Thousands of cranes, with their curious cry, are passing over every day ("The cranes of Ibycus." Few ever read Schiller's poems. I only know Bulwer's translation, but they have grand things in them. "The Veiled Image of Truth at Sais," "The Ring of Polycrates," for who can bear *plain truth?* Who can bear *success?*)

The notables were in a regular state about my going to Halfeyeh to-day. A deputation came to prevent it, but it was of no use. The Mudir threw himself down and embraced my feet, begging me not to go; but, as I thought his solicitude was actuated more by the wish to prevent me going to where he has, I expect, been robbing right and left, than my security, I did not attend much to him. I should

break the hearts of our F.O., for I say openly, "As your Government is bad, and will give you nothing when you are decrepid, rob away gaily, but with wisdom, and do not let me hear of it."

The Arabs will be in an awful rage to-morrow with the procession of the five Dervishes with captured flags, &c. You can scarcely imagine the state (well known to Stewart, Power, and Herbin) one gets in, when one is constantly hearing explosions; what with the guns, mines, and musketry, one's nerves get strained, and nothing can drop without one thinking it is an explosion. What the Russians underwent at Sevastopol must have been terrible. As Hansall, the Austrian Consul, says, it is *abrutissant*. It has slackened off now, but still any loud noise, in this clear air, makes me jump (*i.e.*, be, for a moment, afraid) like any man who rides knows, when his horse, at is were, sinks clompletely beneath him, on a sudden start.

I look forward to the advent of some of the Royal Navy more than anything. There are such a lot of splendid cutting-outs and surprises to be made by the steamers, and the steamers are first-rate in every respect. Each steamer is worth two thousand men, if well handled, and they have all on board grub and ammunition, and want no commissariat officers.

If I were Earle, I would leave all the principal medical officers at Dongola, and only take on the lowest ranks of the Army Medical Department.

The Principal Medical Officers are bores and croakers, and want all sorts of attention. A man is a fool or a physician at forty years of age. All in this country you want is to *keep the communication open*, and Cockle will do that. As for wounds, there will

be none, *for Arabs give no quarter*; neither will we, I expect, if we go over one hundred miles of desert.

At Halfeyeh to-day, going round the Fort, a tallow-faced Egyptian dashed out with the most fearful whine. I tried to calm him, no good, so Cassim el Mousse, the Shaggyeh Meleh, interfered; no use! the man (?) threw himself on the ground, and deluged himself and me with dust, so Cassim gave him a wipe over the head with his Hippo whip, and I ordered him to be taken out of the ranks and brought to Kartoum; *en route* my cavasses came and remonstrated, saying he ought to be secured, for he was the most notorious thief of Alexandria; so, justly or not, I have put him in prison.

It would be a great mistake to think the troops are down in the mouth. We have certainly lost a lot; but the men are as determined as ever, and only think it their due if they are aided. Stewart talks of their cowardice, but it is a cowardice of calculation, and it would be a great mistake if the expeditionary force *for the extrication of the garrisons* comes up here, and thinks the men are going to say they are *in extremis*. (I leave out Cairo troops and the Bashi Bazouks.) The black soldiers do not think they have been beaten. There are not many armies which would bear with the equanimity these troops do, the loss of say one-fifth of their numbers *killed*, which was the case in one defeat (only twenty days ago) of Mahomet Ali Pasha.

The steamers from Sennaar will I think be in to-morrow.

The question to-day at Halfeyeh was this. Certain heads of families had gone over to the Arabs with

Saleh Pasha (we put a sponge over that affair), and their adherents, being in Kartoum, had not gone over (not their fault); those who had gone over with Saleh Pasha, afterwards came over to me, and asked for their adherents to be given back to them. To this the chiefs of families, who had been in Kartoum and who had kept these adherents under them, objected, so it became a question what to do. I decided to ask each man his desire. "Will you go with A. or B.?" The men came in at the door, and after having elected, they went out of the window, for there were not two doors; they elected as they wished, and went out of the window. Some came in and thought that all that was required of them was to come in at the door, and go out of the window as quickly as possible without answering! I do love to study mankind; he is far better than any landscape. These fellows knew well enough I was going to put their decision on them, and tried to avoid giving any, as to with whom they would go. It was somewhat of a gymnastic process for them to go out of the window, and they made a good mess of it; but if I had let them go out of the door by which they had entered, inextricable confusion would have occurred. As it was, we had resurrections at the door of those who had departed by the window, which caused some bother. The two rival chiefs were present, and one's object was to prevent the elector looking at either while he elected; sometimes it was necessary to secure that the pug-face was fairly on the clerk, the electing officer, who asked the question A. or B. I will back the eye for knowledge more than any other organ. A man who does not look you in the face in answering is 99 times in 100 a liar.

September 26.—There is one great question, and if you know a person, say, K. is faithless and is seeking his own, ought one to be down on him? We have an example in our Lord. He knew Judas was going to betray Him, yet He did not denounce him; from which I infer, if we know even that K. is going to rat, or be faithless, unless he, K., gives positive proof of such intention, we ought to treat K. as J., of whom we have no suspicion of treachery. I am inclined (satanically I own) to distrust every one, *i.e.*, I trust every one. I believe that circumstances may arise when self-interest will almost compel your nearest relative to betray you to some extent. Man is an essentially treacherous animal; and although the psalmist said *in his haste* "all men are liars," I think he might have said the same *at his leisure.*

"You may depend upon it, I will do my best for you"—to chief clerk W.O. "Why, if you give it to *him* we must give it to more than forty. It is out of the question." What is the result? Why the *him* will go to his club and say, "Why I was promised it and did not get it." Whereas if he had weighed the words, he would have seen he was promised only "the best he could do." This is a breach of confidence, but it is an example. A man long ago dead —— was asked by a lady to recommend her son for an appointment —— (who was most honest), wrote saying so-and-so wants such and such a thing, but that he did not think the young man for whom the appointment was solicited was worth much. —— wrote to the lady to say he had done his best. Unfortunately he placed the letters into wrong envelopes. The lady never looked on —— again. Well, I suppose —— was

treacherous to the lady. He might have refused to write, but he did more—he did the young man *harm* by saying *he was not worth much.*

I like to take things in a light-hearted way. I like the tacit contract, "that if you are useful to me I will use you"; and "*that*" (with full belief) "if I cease to be useful to you you will leave me." I try and act, "do to others as they wish you to do to them." I would never put a man in any position I would not put myself.

Although man is the essence of treachery, I believe every man *wishes to be honest; his interests prevent him.*

The five men went out to Arab lines with their Arab flags, on which a church parade, which was going on, dispersed.

It is a curious fact that any effort to relieve the garrisons made from the outside is contemporaneous with the *expiration* of the period stated in March of the time they could hold out, viz., six months. There are some ugly suspicious circumstances all the way through! The consequence will be a far greater expense. Had efforts been made quietly between March and August to span with proper transport between Wady Halfa and Hannek,* much of the present difficulties to an advance would have been got over, and security would have been felt everywhere that efforts were really being made. There is a humility in Baring's telegram asking my advice as to routes for access to Kartoum. "Sir E. Baring having gone to London, I am charged by Her Majesty's Government to tell you to keep them informed not only as to immediate but as to any prospective danger at Kartoum,

* Upper part of Nubian Desert.—ED.

that you should advise them in order to be prepared for any such danger as to force necessary to secure your retreat, its amount, character, route for access to Kartoum, and time for its departure. Her Majesty's Government does not entertain your proposal to supply you with Turkish or other forces for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions, such being beyond scope of your commission, and at variance with the policy which was the purport of your mission to the Soudan. If with this knowledge you continue at Kartoum, you should state cause and intention with which you so continue."* If the telegrams I sent down in March to Baring are referred to, it will be seen I had already** informed him of all he could possibly want to know, and I specially said that the expedition by the route of Wady Halfa would be (as it was at that epoch) a mere picnic party.

Man proposes—God disposes. Any one who two-and-a-half years ago had said that the Gladstone

* From British agent and Nubar Pasha to General Gordon, sent 5th May from Suakin; reached 29th of July.—ED.

** Telegram from General Gordon to Sir E. Baring dated Feb. 27, 1884, says: "You have to say whether the partial evacuation of the Soudan fulfils your objects,—if it does not, then you must act by Indian Moslem troops from Wady Halfa; and do so at once by sending detachments of troops to Wady Halfa."—*Egypt*, *No.* 12 (1884), *Enclosure* 1, in *No.* 229. And again, on Feb. 29, "Should you wish to intervene, send 200 British troops to Wady Halfa and adjutants to inspect Dongola, and then open up Suakin-Berber road by Indian Moslem troops. This will cause an immediate collapse of the revolt. Whether you think it worth while to do this or not you are, of course, the best judge. I can only tell you the *modus operandi* of an expeditious intervention. If you decide against this you may probably have to decide between Zubair and the Mahdi. Zubair with £100,000."—*Egypt*, *No.* 12 (1884), *Enclosure* 5, *No.* 229.—ED.

ministry would not only go to Egypt, and, not content with one expedition to the Soudan (Graham's), would go in for *two expeditions*, would have been scouted as a madman; and it certainly is curious that Mr. Gladstone, in "—— *Review*"* of 1878, combating Mr. Dicey's ideas for the annexation of Egypt, should have stated that this *annexation was impossible on account of the Soudan!*

There is one thing, which, in the opinion of the world, would expunge all disagreeables from the whole question, *i.e.*, if the abolition of slavery were proclaimed. It would be a difficult job, but would be possible if we took our time, and at Lord Mayor's dinners, &c., it would be a platform no one could come up to.

4 P.M. Steamers from Sennaar in sight. Now we shall be all together again, thank God!

The Arabs off the south front are all agog at sight of the steamers coming down. Those on the Blue Nile are firing on the steamers. I sent up *Mansowrah* to help them. The Arabs are in the houses. Expenditure of ammunition is enormous, I should think. The three steamers have passed the place where the Arabs are. They came down one by one, which was not wise.

From the top of the Serail one commands view all round for miles.

It will be satisfaction to Her Majesty's Navy to know that it is our navy which has, humanly speaking, saved us. It really is a splendid fleet and naval arsenal. The steamers have come in; the Arabs were numerous and had five guns; seven of their shells struck the steamers (Arabs had also two rocket tubes).

* "Nineteenth Century," August, 1877.—ED.

The steamers brought down 2000 ardebs, and report Sennaar well off, and no Arabs in arms in all their district. Seyd Osman Mahomet is said to have occupied Katarif with his men. A sheikh has promised to capture the steamer *Mahomet Ali*, which is up the River Dinder, and to hand her over to the Sennaar Governor. Wad Medinet did not fire on the steamers, but brandished spears, &c.; our loss in passing the gauntlet was three killed and eight wounded.

The Arabs have no conscience; they make my captured soldiers serve the guns, and otherwise act against us under pain of death!

I declare my people do, in a feeble way, what is wanted, and do not deserve the character of cowards; they bear defeat far better than other peoples, and they are good-tempered over it. *We* English are the cream, all acknowledge that, but we will not exist on two dates a day, as these men do, without a murmur.

The steamer *Bordeen* was struck by two shots, one near water-line. The *Ismailia* steamer received three, the *Talataween* steamer received two shots. Happily all got down safe. The Arabs fired from guns and rifles with fury—we could see that from the roof. All the steamers have got small-pox from bullet-marks! Our chief of the arsenal, Hussein Bey, had been sharp enough to have bits of old tents ready to stop shot-holes. Had we not had these we might have lost the *Bordeen* steamer.

The Arabs had three forts (breastworks) along the river-bank, rather above Giraffe. I mentioned that we lost three killed and eight wounded; *now mark this*, on their way down the steamers met three escaped soldiers from the Arabs; they took them on board,

and, odd to say, of those killed and wounded, were these three men, two having been killed, and the other badly wounded! This is remarkable. If we could believe it, *we are as safe in the fiercest battle as in a drawing-room in London.*

September 27.—I have arranged to send down three steamers to Shendy to co-operate with Dongola forces, and to raise the Shaggyeh tribes. I have sent out a man to warn Dongola of this fact. He carries no letters, only a small slip, stating he is a "true man."

It is of no use sending up to Sennaar again for dhoora, for we have no money to pay for it, and it is a risk with these Arab guns. Steamer *Ismailia* received three shells; steamer *Bordeen* two; steamer *Talataween* two. Some made tremendous holes, and one in *Bordeen* was close to water-line; it is wonderful how they escaped. The poor escaped soldiers were asleep in the hold, when a shell entered and burst; two were killed, one was seriously wounded.

Two men came in from the Arabs. One said he was the Mahdi, the other said a courier had come to the Arabs, saying the English were at Berber; they knew nothing of yesterday's fight.

Our steamers are of about the same consistency as the Thames steamboats, so you may imagine the risk there is of putting them under artillery fire.

Towfikia steamer went up the White Nile exchanging musketry fire with the Arabs.

My beautiful steamers, which used to be comparatively sweet, now stink like badgers. As for the swell *Ismailia* she is a cess-pit.

Several other shots struck the upper works of the

steamers; evidently they were under a nasty fire, and as for bullet marks they are spotted all over. Among the three killed (two of them escaped soldiers) one was a little boy.

Another slave came in at Omdurman, but had no news.

Great female squawking under the window of the Serail, approaching to yells. On examination I find the noise comes from a black female fighting the cavass. On enquiry I find my lady had gone down to buy dhoora with two dollars in her hand, and had been pushed by some ungallant fellow, and the dollars fell into the river. Though I do not see that the responsibility was upon me, I gave her the two dollars, and comforted her black soul. It would be a comfort if all the troubles of life were got rid of so cheaply.

Having undergone considerable anxiety owing to the Shaggyeh tribe in our lines during the blockade, we got rid of them to Halfeyeh as soon as we could.* But when they got to Halfeyeh, and met their brethren who had been with the Arabs, and who had come over to us, the former were seized with distrust of the latter, and so we are obliged to bring these latter into Kartoum. I do not think it any risk, for the Shaggyeh have lied so very much to the Arabs that nothing

* A telegram from Mudir of Dongola says that "on the 24th July, the Emir Abou Kanga and his army, who had come from Kordofan, were slaughtered, and that before the messenger quitted Kartoum another fight occurred, in which the son of Sheikh Sid and his followers were killed on the 30th August, and the siege raised. This is confirmed by a letter sent to me by Cassim-el-Mousse Bey, stating that he and his soldiers were at Halfeyeh, and that the Shaggyeh tribe and people had come in and tendered their submission.—*Egypt*, *No.* 35, 1884, *No.* 133.—ED.

would ever make peace between them, so I do not feel any discomfort about them.

It is not comfortable to see your steamers with a hole in them through which you could push your head and shoulders, and that not a foot above the water-line. The *Bordeen* had that, the shell came in on one side and burst on penetrating the other plate of the other side.

To my mind, these Egyptian mountain guns are far preferable to those steel guns of ours, with their wretched small calibre, and I would prefer a smooth bore howitzer to an Armstrong for these wars.

I made Nutzer Bey a Pasha for his Sennaar trip, and send him down with Cassim el Mousse to Metemma to await advance of Her Majesty's forces. Ibraham Tongi and Mousse Beys refused, or rather declined to go unless also made Pashas, which I did not see, so these worthies stay here.

B. to A.—"Well you know I had to send on the telegram, and I added I hoped Stewart was well. That fellow G. takes exception to this, and says *va sans dire*, that I could not have wished that Stewart was ill. Most unjust. Had I added anything to this telegram, I might have got into a row, which would never do, but what was the use of pampering to inordinate curiosity?"

A. to B.—"Well he pitched into me for asking Stewart to tell me if I could do anything for him (the communications being so easy), and for telling *him* the names of the Generals (to my mind a most important matter, for it would strike terror among the Arabs), *he* says *he* does not care who the Generals are (which is sheer heresy and perfectly sickening). I shall write

nothing more to *him* except the purest official documents. It is very clear his liver is out of order, to go and attack officers of his own corps like that. It is atrocious!"

September 28.—Two women and a man came in to-day; they say the Mahdi is not at Schatt, but at Rahad. Hussan Effendi and another directed the guns against the steamers. The women say the Arabs had three guns, not five. The Arabs did not lose many from their people's accounts. Among the three guns there was a Krupp, they say.

Say for a moment that the object of Her Majesty's Government is simply to enable me to retreat, and is irrespective of the retreat of the garrisons—then all the loss of life in this neighbourhood on both sides was thrown away, inasmuch as if I had not come there would have been a speedier collapse, without the loss of life (at least such is probable). The Government may say that they had reasonable hopes that I would succeed; I will neither say I gave them such assurance or that I did not give it. I think I was neutral in giving or in not giving such assurance.

When the steamers get to Shendy, they will be only 150 miles from Ambukol, which is a little higher up the Nile than Debbeh (35 miles). Three more slaves came in from the north; they had run away from their master, and will enter the army. I expect we shall have lots of this sort of thing.

Arabs show no disposition to close our road to Shendy as yet, and I believe the country up to that place is with *Kartoum* (I cannot say *the Government*, for I do not know what the Government is).

One of the greatest sinners in the way of getting Egypt into financial difficulties (whence all this trouble) is . . . who in the Crimea used to sell cheeses and other things at exorbitant prices.

Sir Samuel Baker will be disgusted to know that the crack vessel he got from Samuda, the *Ismailia*, the biggest of his lot, is the worst of the larger *fighting* steamers. She is a good yacht, but nothing more. All these steamers we owe to Sir Samuel Baker.

A Frenchman, Monsieur de Bizemont, brought up the steamers from Cairo, through all the cataracts. Monsieur le Blanc was with him. Mr. Higginbotham, C.E., took the steamers in sections across the Korosko desert.

September 29.—To-morrow is Bairam. I have made Ferratch Pasha take over the festivities. The *Talata-ween*, *Mansowrah*, and *Saphia* (*D.V.*) leave for Shendy to-morrow night with 100 men on board of each. Cassim el Mousse goes with them. I send a slip to Lord Wolseley, to be forwarded with a spy. The two journals of events from 10th to 30th September, and map of Berber, will go with steamers in hopes of their being able to find a more secure road of sending them to Debbeh or elsewhere.

I found we had 700 bags of Indian rice in store. I have issued it on account of pay to the troops, at two okes* per dollar. They will sell it at three okes per dollar. It wipes off my debt to them, and they will gain.

An escaped soldier came in, and says Mahdi has had three messengers from Metemma, saying British

* An oke equals $3^1/_2$ lbs. troy.—ED.

troops were coming up in shoals, and so he had a dream, in which he was ordered back to Kordofan.

I hope the officers and men of Her Majesty's forces will be considerate to the Egyptian soldiers and sailors; *they do not understand English*, but as they have done some good service, I hope they will be kindly treated. They are a trying lot, as I well know, but if it were not for them, our soldiers would have to tramp many a weary sandy mile. It is one of my joys that I never have to see Great Britain again. I hope to get out of this affair, and either go to the Congo, *viâ* Equatorial Province, or by Brussels. At any rate I shall never have to undergo the worries I underwent during the week I was in England this year. I say this in order that those who may have to do with me may know how very determined a man's will must be who does not wish (and indeed *will not ever*) go back to England again, and to whom continuance in Her Majesty's Service, except for the honour of it, is a matter of indifference.

I am now going to be egotistic, but it will save a mint of trouble, and I may be pardoned, considering the circumstances. By being so I may save myself what I should much regret, a quarrel.

My idea is to induce Her Majesty's Government to undertake the extrication of all people or garrisons, now hemmed in or captive, and that if this is not their programme, then to resign my commission and do what I can to attain it (the object). As long as a man remains in Her Majesty's Service he is bound to obey the orders of his superiors, but if he resigns he cannot be held as insubordinate if he disobeys. Of course it may turn on the question of

whether once having entered the service of Her Majesty's Army, one is free to leave it at one's will. But we officers are not like the private soldiers engaged for a term of years, and perhaps one may risk dismissal if the cause is worthy of it—which, I think, the question of abandoning the garrisons is.

I say this, because I should be sorry for Lord Wolseley to advance from Dongola without fully knowing my views. If Her Majesty's Government are going to abandon the garrisons, then do not advance. I say nothing of evacuating the country, I merely maintain that if we do so, every one in the Soudan, captive or hemmed in, ought to have the option and power of retreat. Having given them that option and power, I have nothing more to say, and I would not care whether the country is evacuated or not.

It is a miserable country, but it is joined to Egypt, and to my idea it would be difficult to divorce the two.

I will end these egotistical remarks by saying that no persuasion will induce me to change my views; and that as to force, it is out of the question, for I have the people with me—at any rate of the towns which hold out. Therefore, if Her Majesty's forces are not prepared to relieve the whole of the garrisons, the General should consider whether it is worth coming up—in his place, *if not so prepared*,* I would

* The position of the garrisons in Darfour, the Bahr-el-Gazelle and Equatorial provinces renders it impossible that you should take any action which would facilitate their retreat without extending your operations far beyond the sphere which Her Majesty's Government is prepared to sanction.

As regards the Sennaar garrison, Her Majesty's Government

not do so. I do not dictate, but I say what every gentleman * in Her Majesty's Army would agree to—

is not prepared to sanction the dispatch of an expedition of British troops up the Blue Nile in order to insure its retreat.

From the last telegrams received from General Gordon, there is reason to hope that he has already taken steps to withdraw the Egyptian portion of the Sennaar garrison.

You will use your best endeavours to insure the safe retreat of the Egyptian troops which constitute the Kartoum garrison, and of such of the civil employés of Kartoum, together with their families, as may wish to return to Egypt.

As regards the future government of the Soudan, and especially of Kartoum, Her Majesty's Government would be glad to see a Government at Kartoum which, so far as all matters connected with the internal administration of the country are concerned, would be wholly independent of Egypt.—*Lord Wolseley's Instructions, Egypt, N.* 35, 1884, *No.* 157.—ED.

* "I am strongly against any permanent retention of the Soudan, but I think we ought to leave it with decency, and give the respectable people a man to lead them, around whom they can rally, and we ought to support that man by money and by opening road to Berber. Pray do not consider me in any way to advocate retention of Soudan; I am quite averse to it, but you must see that you could not recall me nor could I possibly obey until the Cairo employés get out from all the places. I have named men to different places, thus involving them with Mahdi; how could I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled? As a gentleman, could you advise this course? It may have been a mistake to send me up, but having been done I have no option but to see evacuation through, for even if I was mean enough to escape I have no power to do so. You can easily understand this; would you do so? If you were the people of Kartoum, you would, like they would, make terms with Mahdi by making me backsheesh Mahdi."—*Gen. Gordon to Sir E. Baring, Kartoum, March* 3, 1884; *Egypt, No.* 12, 1884; *No.* 231. This telegram, forwarded by Sir E. Baring to Lord Granville, was received by H. M. Ministers on March 11, 1884. On April 3 Mr. Gladstone stated in the House of Commons that "General Gordon was under no orders and under no restraint to stay at Kartoum."—ED.

that it would be *mean* (*coûte que coûte*) to leave men who (though they may not come up to our ideas as heroes) have stuck to me, though a *Christian dog in their eyes*, through great difficulties, and thus force them to surrender to those who have not conquered them, and to do that at the bidding of a foreign Power, to save one's own skin. Why the black sluts would stone me if they thought I meditated such action. Stewart knows all this and used to groan over perversity.

September 30. The Arabs fired seven shells last night at 9 P.M. which fell inside the lines, but did no harm. To-day being Bairam, they fired four rounds in their camp—a salute I suppose.

The spy who came in yesterday, says the report is rife that Seyd Mahomet Osman's men have entered Katarif.

The three steamers will leave here to-day for Shendy at 4 P.M.

I shoved off the Bairam reception upon Ferratch Pasha, who held it upon the lines. I am not up to these affairs, and I think he likes them.

As soon as ever I hear of the arrival of troops at Berber, down will go the Greeks, Bashi Bazouks, and Fellaheen soldiers with a month's provisions. The people of Berber then can send them on, as best they can—they will be off my hands. I have everything ready to send them. We have wire left up here to repair the lines, so Floyer had no telegraph better see to it; all ours has been used in the wire entanglements.

The troops on board the steamers are Fellaheen soldiers. If Berber is captured, better take them out

and keep them (they are part of their way to their homes), and replace them with such black troops as may be released at Berber; but see after these white soldiers' pay, and rations, and do not neglect them.

We do not want to be told the steamers are dirty, for we know it.

If coming up, see beforehand that Arabs have not a gun or guns at the Shoboloha Pass, and if wood has to be looted, loot those people on the left bank of the Nile, *not* those on the right.

I do not care much to have Wood's men here; there will be sure to be rows between them and our blacks, and they are not favourites in the Soudan. Still less do I want to see Bashi Bazouks, or tribes who have been taken into our pay, for they will rob right and left.

I have prepared the beads, copper rods, uniforms, &c., to send up to the Equator as soon as it is possible. Report says the garrison of the Equator is at Fashoda.

The sister steamer to *Abbas* will be finished in twelve days. We made, or rather Hassan Bey made, a first-rate crank.

Remember, we have very few dollars here, and gold is depreciated in value. We have only £1,000 in the treasury.

It would be as well to tell the Greek creditors, who may be coming up, that there is not the least probability that the Government, whatever it may be, will look at any of their claims until at least a year has expired.

We have painted the steamers up; they are whited sepulchres.

I hope Ibrahim Tongi and Moussa Beys, who will come down with the first lot, who leave this (after the hoped-for capture of Berber), will be sent on to Cairo at once, and not given appointments, on any consideration, at Berber or elsewhere.

I like trying to find solutions for this Soudan problem. This is the last. Let Towfik Pasha send up Abdel Kader Pasha, as Governor-General, to replace me at once. As soon as the Firman comes, I am out of calculation, and Her Majesty's Government can do what they like, for Abdel Kader will follow their dictum. Such an act would not in the least vex me. Lord Wolseley can then do what he thinks fit with respect to the Soudan, the abandonment, and all the etceteras, and I am free of all responsibility to the people and to the troops, or with respect to the money affairs, dhoora, &c., &c. But in this case, it must be borne in mind, I am not the "rescued lamb," simply having been sent up to perform a certain mission, *i.e.*, extrication of garrisons. I failed, and was replaced by Abdel Kader and a British Force. It is for them to explain any change in their programme.

The same remarks, appended to the end of Volume I, are added to this *in re* Mr. Power and Foreign Office, &c.

C. G. GORDON.

30th September, 2 P.M., Kartoum.

I really think that as Her Majesty's Government and I are in such opposite camps (at least I think so) —*in re* the *extrication of the garrisons*—it would save a mint of trouble if Towfik Pasha were to replace me

by Abdel Kader Pasha, with whom Her Majesty's Government could do as they liked. At any rate, a scandal would be avoided; and I think Abdel Kader would be well received by all. Of course I should have the privilege of laughing in my sleeve if, after all, Her Majesty's Government found they could not get out without the establishment of *Turks* or *Zubair*, or the *retention of the Soudan* under Egypt. I, therefore, as an adieu, recommend this course, for it opens a speedy exit for me without rows, and clears me of all responsibility whatever.

C. G. GORDON.

BOOK III.

On outside wrapper (*a handkerchief*):

No secrets as far as I am concerned.

C. G. GORDON.

LT.-COLONEL STEWART, C.M.G.,
Chief of the Staff, or LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B.
Soudan Expeditionary Force.

JOURNAL OF EVENTS—KARTOUM, VOL. III.
From 1st Oct. to 12th Oct., 1884.

On cover at back:

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL
From 1st Oct. to 12th Oct., 1884.
EVENTS IN KARTOUM.

It will require pruning down if published.

C. G. GORDON.
1/10/84.

On inside sheet:

EVENTS IN KARTOUM.
GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL, VOL. III.
From Oct. 1st to 1884.

If published, must be pruned down.

C. G. GORDON.

JOURNAL.

October 1.—Steamers left yesterday at 3 P.M. for (Berber, *D.V.*, *viâ*) Shendy. Yesterday the steamer *Towfikia* attacked the Arabs on the White Nile, and killed a horse and three men. Steamer *Bordeen* drove back the horsemen on the Blue Nile. The Arabs attacked a village lower down the White Nile than Halfeyeh, and were driven back by the villagers with loss: you may believe as much as you like of this, *but our vessels went out*, that is the main thing.

The more I think of appointing Abdel Kader*

* Abdel Kader was then Minister of War. In March 1882, he was appointed to succeed Raouf Pasha as Governor-General of the Soudan, and on the 11th of May he reached Kartoum and assumed his duties. He carried on an active campaign against the Mahdi until March 26th, 1883, when Al-ed-Din Pasha was publicly proclaimed at Kartoum, Governor-General of the Soudan, in his place. In January 1884 Abdel Kader was selected by the Egyptian Government as their envoy to Kartoum. He at first accepted the position and then declined it. Upon this the Egyptian Government requested Her Majesty's Government to select a well-qualified British officer to go to Kartoum instead of Abdel Kader. General Gordon was the officer selected. Thus, in suggesting Abdel Kader as his successor, General Gordon was suggesting the very man whom he had succeeded.—ED.

Pasha in my place, the more strongly does the idea recommend itself, for it does away with all difficulties, and leaves Her Majesty's Government perfectly free to abandon or not as it thinks fit. Abdel Kader Pasha would be under no such obligations as I am to the soldiers, &c., of these beleaguered places, and Her Majesty's Government could put it all on him if anything was said. To me it has the selfish advantage of being free at once of a very disagreeable and troublesome position, both personally and publicly.

As for feeling at all vexed at this arrangement, viz. my being put out, I should not, for the only thing which actuates me is this: *I think it mean to leave the garrisons;* but if my superiors decide to do so, and will take the responsibility, then what am I? to dispute their decision, the more especially as I cannot do so without funds, which I have not. I do not dispute but that the withdrawal of the garrisons is not a difficult task, but not impossible; and if not impossible, our honour binds us to fulfil it, and to my mind it is shabby not to do it: but Governments do shabby things, *vide* the Boer business, and if they are going to do it here, the way I have pointed out is the best. There is not the least reason for me to participate in its execution, it would not be fair to try and force me, and another thing is that I would *not* be forced. I believe Her Majesty's Government will adopt this idea, and if they do, I see a vista of an escape with honour and without *fracas* (which is very pleasing), from a position which is not likely to be a feather-bed, and which might require me to go on struggling for over a year, not only against the Arabs, but against the antipathies and ill-disguised hostility of Her Majesty's

Government, for certainly they would not be over friendly if forced into a line of action their soul abhors.

I think we are bound to extricate the garrisons whatever it costs; *they do not;* there is no reason for any difference of opinion which cannot exist between a Government and an individual, they simply place an individual who thinks with them, and the matter is done, and this individual is Abdel Kader Pasha. I see no reason to try and force me to do what I do not think right, and which I can consequently do only in a half-hearted manner if I even undertook it, *which I will not.*

As for the effect of my replacement by Abdel Kader Pasha: 1st, it would produce no surprise, for it is well known I and Towfik are not at all friends. 2nd, it is also known that Her Majesty's Government wish to be rid of all responsibility of the Soudan, *in re* the garrisons; therefore the removal of me would be merely the carrying out of this policy. 3rd, Abdel Kader Pasha is the best man they have had up here, and so, till the matter was broken to them, he would be well received. It is not vaunting myself when I say that the general opinion here is this, that Her Majesty's Government would never have sent an expedition up here had it not had me and Stewart here, *sent up by them!** I think they fully realise, that as far as the

* The instructions conveyed to Lord Wolseley by Her Majesty's Government were to the effect that the *primary object of the expedition was to bring away General Gordon and Colonel Stewart from Kartoum.* He was moreover enjoined not to advance further southwards than was absolutely necessary in order to attain *the primary object of the expedition.*—ED.

garrisons, &c., &c., were concerned, were it not for us they might perish as quickly as they liked; they also realise that, unless for the action of Her Majesty's Government at Cairo, assistance would have been sent long ago from Cairo, so it must not be expected of the people to be very grateful. They are glad to get out of their mess, but consider they are only extricated under compulsion of circumstances, and not *con amore*.

If time presses, then telegraph Towfik to make the Mudir of Dongola *Governor-General* (it does not signify who is your dummy, only perhaps he may not be so ductile as Abdel Kader) in my place, and your work is easy, such work as it is.

Personally, I can assure you, I shall be only too delighted, for I could be in Brussels in December, and free, honourably, of the whole affair; you could not possibly expect me to stay after being replaced. *Mark my words, if you have made up your mind, this is the best solution* and avoids all scandal.

Abdel Kader will make out that the Mahdi's government is not really so bad: that it is impossible, &c., &c., to be wandering all over Africa, and his paper on the state of affairs will go down splendidly with the public, and there will be honours all round, and mutual congratulations. The British public accepted, without hesitation, the trial of Arabi Pasha, by Ismail Pasha Ayoub, and Réouf Pasha, *as being a just one!* Why, had they tried an angel, and Towfik had wished the angel *guilty—guilty that angel would have been*, even if Michael or Gabriel. Now I have told you how to whitewash I will end this tirade. I will only remark that Her Majesty's Government must not

say *I was replaced, because I wished to keep the Soudan*, FOR I DO NOT SAY SO, it is an useless country; what I say is, that it is shabby *to abandon the garrisons*, &c., &c.

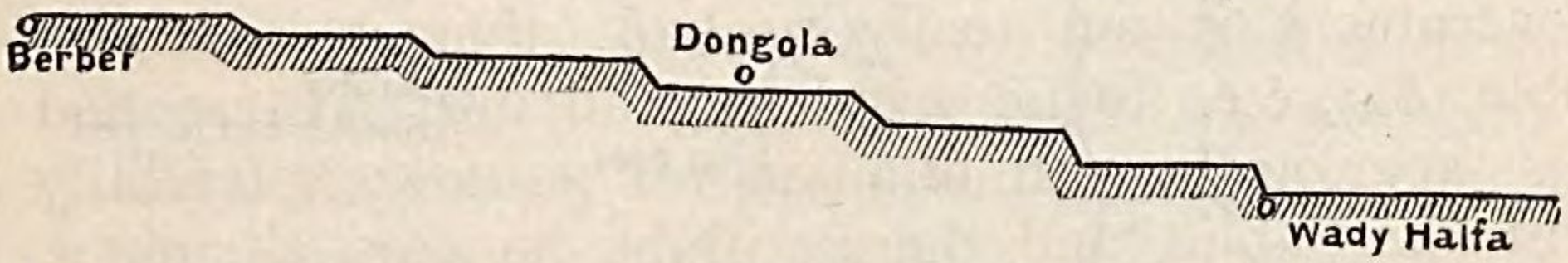
I own the proposition I make is in some degree a trap, for I feel confident that there will be no end of trouble, even in placing Abdel Kader Pasha in my place and trying to evacuate; but if you accept it you will do so (after this warning) with your eyes open.

Two women slaves came in from the Sheikh el Obeyed; no news, except that the Arabs with this chief, are very badly off for water.

The following is what I would do, if in supreme command, military and political. Divide the forces into three sections; one, A, to stay at Dongola, half force, and look after communications from Wady Halfa to Berber by river, in those *étapes* or stages already alluded to.

Another, B, to occupy Berber, quarter force.

Another, C, to be a fighting force (quarter force) without artillery, for we have guns up here. With C I would come to Kartoum, coax Arabs down to Giraffe, destroy them, then coax Arabs to El foun and destroy

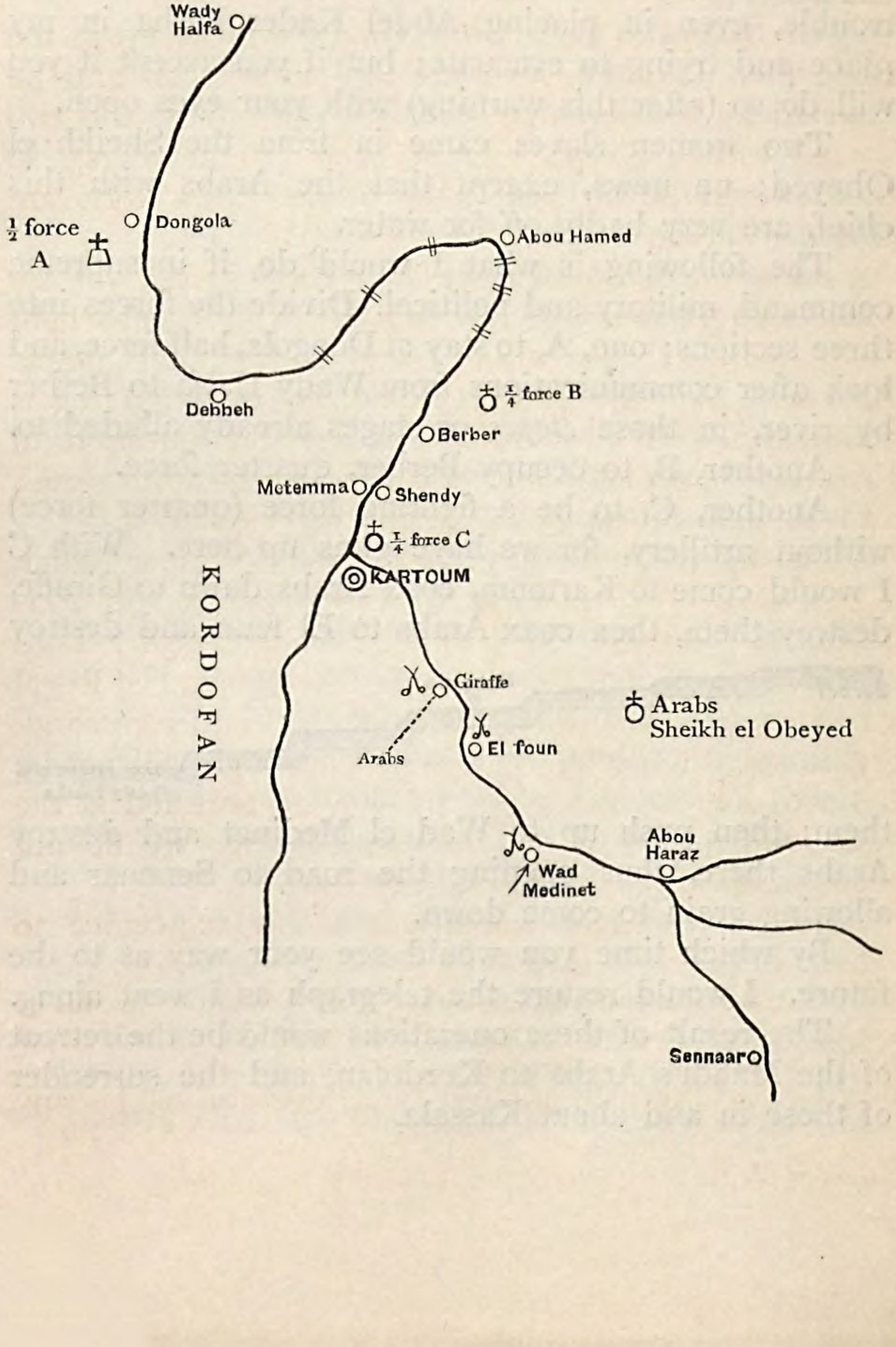


them; then push up to Wad el Medinet and destroy Arabs there, thus opening the road to Sennaar and allowing grain to come down.

By which time you would see your way as to the future. I would restore the telegraph as I went along.

The result of these operations would be the retreat of the Mahdi's Arabs to Kordofan, and the surrender of those in and about Kassala.

Humanly speaking, there will be probably *three* fights, costing each fight, *eight* killed and *fifteen* wounded, as far as experience goes; not more, and very likely, if the first fight is a good one (and we have a *good*



pursuit), there will be no more after it; all the rest will be child's play.*

Arabs must have one good defeat, to wipe out Hicks' disasters, and *my defeats*. Berber will be evacuated.

The troops at fight No. 1 *Giraffe* will go up in the castellated barges (which are real fortresses), and be covered by five steamers, each with two guns, and two barges with a Krupp gun in each (16-pounders), so there would be no risk; none of the Arabs' forts are closed at gorge.

Force need not be more than 1000 strong, *for we could send* 3000 for the flanks; but, as it would fight on river banks, there would be no fear for flank attack. All could be done in thirty days as far as fighting is concerned. This of course leaves the question of Kordofan unsettled. The Mahdi might come to terms, and abandon his spiritual power, but I doubt it.

The fighting force C probably will be under Buller. *Earle* at *Berber; Dormer* at *Abou Hamed;* and *Fremantle* at *Dongola;* the Sirdar at *Wady Halfa;* Lord Wolseley PARTOUT! Goodenough in command of Royal Artillery; Harrison (in recollection of China) commanding Royal Engineers. I hope Goodenough will not be too proud to use our guns, he will be horrified at the vents, which are from continuous firing; we do not rebouch up here, not having bouches.

No one could be astonished at my reluctance to

* It must be borne in mind that when Gordon wrote this he expected the expedition to reach Kartoum before the middle of November and not towards the end of January. The strength of the rebels had materially increased during December and January.
ED.

make a bolt of it without the garrisons, for it virtually makes out all our toils, for the last seven months, as utterly useless; we had, to all intents and purposes, better have surrendered months ago. One feels such a mean brute to go egging on men to fight, and then to let it end with a skedaddle.

October 2nd.—A sergeant-major, with a soldier, escaped last night; he reports that the Mahdi came from Obeyed to Schatt, with two ortas of black captured troops, two Krupp guns, and seven mountain guns; but then the Arab tribes in his rear rose, and that he went back, taking the guns with him, sending one of his Ameers, Abdullah Waled Jubira, to Kalakla with 100 black troops. The sergeant-major reports the Arabs have 140 Krupp shells and 200 boxes of Remington ammunition; that the Arabs did not suffer when they fired on the steamers coming from Sennaar; that, with the Mahdi, are all the Roman Catholic Mission party, *who have not changed their religion:* one nun is exposed to the sun to force her to do so. The man says the other guns are all broken in their carriages, in the Mahdi's fights with the Arabs. The Mahdi takes Slatin and all the Europeans with him when he moves; he reports Waled a Goun has sent the black troops he had with him to the rear, because so many escaped; the Arabs fired a salute of four guns on arrival of the Ameer Abdullah Waled Jubira.

A slave coming in from the left bank reports Faki Mustapha with few troops; says the rumour of the advance expeditionary force is rife; says the Arab ferry is at Kalakla; they pass only at night. The sergeant-major says that he is sure the tribes (on the Mahdi's

going to Schatt) all rose and pillaged on the road: hence the Mahdi's return towards Obeyed.

The man the doctor operated upon for the large stone is dead.

From what the sergeant-major says, it appears I am not more liked by the Mahdi than I am *elsewhere* —a nuisance! and a bore!

The *Towfikia* steamer went up the *White* Nile, and fired upon the Arabs! The *Bordeen* steamer went up the *Blue* Nile, and fired upon the Arabs! The Halfeyeh people went out and captured a camel! All these things are *hostilities* not countenanced by Her Majesty's Government. This afflicts me, that joker Egerton!

I have sent off another spy to Debbeh, saying that three steamers wait their orders at Metemma, *one hundred and fifty* miles from Debbeh!

The Shaggyeh tribes are giving me bother again with their horrid families down river. They are most exasperating.

A horse escaped from the Arabs, formerly belonging to Government. It gave *no* information; but from its action, may be supposed *not to believe in the Mahdi.*

Simmons* and I agree on one subject—that Egypt is useless to us, unless we have command of the seas; and if we have command of seas, Egypt is ours; therefore it is not worth bothering about. We will never be liked by its peoples; we do not go the right way to be liked. To my mind, if we looked after the Cape and Mauritius, &c., it would be far more beneficial, and less expensive, than wasting our money on Egypt and the Soudan; but because Egypt *used to* be impor-

* General Sir Lintorn Simmons, G.C.B.—Ed.

tant, we think it is always so. Whereas, the introduction of steam has quite altered its importance, while the creation of other Naval Powers in the Mediterranean renders that sea no longer a question of supremacy of France or England.

I have mentioned reports of troops moving on Kassala, yet not one word is said, either one way or another, by Kitchener. Surely he must know that if this is the case, I ought to be told; or if no movement is being made in that direction, I ought to be informed.

Arabi's clerk, Ahmet-Eff-Awaan * (Stewart knows him well) was, on Stewart's departure, represented to

* "I have ascertained within the last few weeks that the principal agent in the surrender of the city was not Ferratch Pasha, as originally stated, but a certain civilian exile from Egypt who had acted at one time under Arabi as Secretary of the Ministry of Marine. I know the history of this man well, and can vouch for its accuracy, as I often heard it at Cairo when I was there. Four years or so ago Awaan was an honest and zealous employé in the Cadastral Survey under Sir Auckland Colvin—a service which of all others under the Control was the most inefficient, and is now acknowledged to have been so. Awaan, provoked at the waste and mismanagement, one day had the temerity to draw up a memorandum of what he knew and to send it to his chief. The answer was his dismissal. He then appealed to the native press—for there was some liberty in those days—and his grievance made him a hero; and when Arabi came to power he gave him this place as secretary, which he held at Alexandria down to the bombardment. I never heard of his taking any prominent part in the politics of that eventful time, but on Sir Auckland Colvin's landing he was among the first persons arrested. Lord Charles Beresford tried him by one of his courts-martial and found him guilty of exciting to rebellion, or some such charge. He was handed over to the Circassian tender mercies, and, after seventy-four days in irons in the terrible Borgho prison, he was exiled to Kartoum. He was clearly a political prisoner if ever there was one; and when Lord Dufferin promised us the amnesty at the compromise of Arabi's trial, I wrote to him re-

me as in utter misery, so I gave him back £10 a month. *To-night* I heard my friend had been positively preaching for the Mahdi! so I have shut him up. An attempt was made the day before yesterday morning to set fire to one of the houses near the magazine at the Roman Catholic Mission. It was discovered; it was evidently the work of an incendiary. I have ordered all houses to be pulled down in the neighbourhood. This is not comfortable, for it shows we have some evil-disposed people here.* –

October 3.—Small church parade to-day on South Front. Some twenty-five horsemen came near the lines, and four shots were fired at them.

commending Awaan's case to his special attention, and I have his answer, with a memorandum, curiously enough, by the very Sir Charles Wilson who was afterwards to reap such bitter disappointment at his hands. But Lord Dufferin declined to interfere, and Awaan was left at Kartoum to his revenge. On January 26 it was he who, with the English again at his gates, negotiated its surrender to its Arab deliverer."—*Mr. Wilfred Blunt in a letter to the "Times" of May* 4, 1884.—ED.

* "One of the most painful parts of this business is the constant and continual reports one hears of the intended treachery of this or that influential man. I have, though greatly tired, kept my faith in all men, and have resisted any of those measures which never benefit and which throw widespread alarm throughout the town. Men who belonged to the beleaguered Shaggyeh and who had been shut up with them escaped here without arms, saying that the Shaggyeh had gone over to the enemy, while others would come from them beseeching for aid. I am glad to say that without exception the people of the town and the troops have behaved themselves in a most kind and proper way. This binds me not to leave them until I can do so under Government which would give them some hope of peace."—*General Gordon's telegram to Sir E. Baring, received at Cairo end of March*, 1884. *Egypt, N.* 12, *No.* 287.—ED.

An inquiry is going on about the fire near the magazine. Some little suspicion that Awaan is mixed up with it, for his house was near; indeed, it adjoins the place where the fire was. It burned four tents. It will go hard with him if he is found guilty: certainly his preaching in favour of the Mahdi is against him.

I visited the place of the fire, and also Awaan's house. My impression is against Awaan's being the culprit; but I have no doubt the Court of Inquiry will find him guilty. Wilfred Blunt will be crying out about this ill-used martyr, so will Arabi the blest. I am paying for the houses pulled down. There is no doubt the fire was the work of an incendiary. To-day ends the Bairam.

Stewart will not believe it of Awaan; but it appears that in disputing about the Mahdi, Awaan took off his slipper* and struck his opponent—he was so strong in his opinion. A more fawning, wretched fellow one never saw. I should send him to the Mahdi, but that he knows English, and is a born intriguer.

I reason thus, respecting the slackness of the Intelligence Department not sending in spies. As noted in the Journal, on an average four or five men come in daily from the Arabs, therefore they do not keep so very strict a look-out; also now there are vast gaps in their lines around the place, and one may say from here to Shendy is open. It is more difficult to go out than to come in, for in going out one may stumble on some new emplacement of the Arabs, while in coming

* To strike with a slipper during a dispute is with Moslems the greatest insult one man can offer another.—ED.

in a man can ascertain such emplacements beforehand; it is evident also, that as all the information we have had has come from my *return spies*, that no effort has been made by the Intelligence Department. Had that Department initiated any such step, in any energy, it is unlikely that all *their* men would have been stopped—my spies get caught, though, *so frequently* passing the lines of Arabs.

The more one thinks of it, the more impossible does it seem for Her Majesty's Government to get out of this country without extricating the garrisons and establishing some Government at Kartoum; once having, as they have, come up to Dongola, they cannot well go back from Dongola, they must come to Berber, and when once at Berber, as there is the river, they must come up here; once here, they must go to Sennaar or arrange to open this route. It is of all things the most perplexing, and one does not see the end of it, unless we give the country to the Turks. With the best will and with all favourable circumstances, *i.e.*, that it is found possible to abandon, it will take six to eight months, and with a terrible outlay, and one cannot think that even then it is a satisfactory termination if, after extricating the garrisons and contenting ourselves with that, we let the Mahdi come down and boast of driving us out.

If we proclaim the abolition of slave-holding we must proclaim it in Egypt as well, and then the revenue falls. The Turks really seem the only way out of it, in a speedy way. It would be cheaper to give them a million pounds than to keep our people up here, and there is no discredit to our arms if we take Berber and open the route to Sennaar, and then

leave the country to the Turks, letting them deal with the Mahdi as they like. I think even the gift of two millions to the Turks would be a cheap solution of it, and is also a quick and an honourable one.

As for Her Majesty's Government keeping the Soudan itself, it is out of the question, for you could not get men to serve here except under great salaries and supported with large forces; and as for giving it back to Egypt, in a couple of years we would have another Mahdi; therefore, our choice lies between Zubair and the Turks. Now, the time has gone by when Zubair, almost alone, would suffice; he would now need aid in men, while the Turks would need no aid from us in men. Therefore, give the country to the Turks, when once you have come to Kartoum, with one or two millions sterling (which YOU will spend in three months' occupation up here if you delay), make arrangements at once with the Porte for its Soudan cession, let 6,000 Turks land at Suakin and march up to Berber, thence to Kartoum; you can then retire at once before the hot weather comes on.* Let 3000 Turks land at Massowah and go to Kassala; that saves you that journey. You would be even saved waiting till the troops came from the Equator and Bahr Gazelle.

28*th October*.—Berber occupied.

* On Feb. 11th, 1884, General Gordon telegraphed from Berber to Sir Evelyn Baring: "I would not, if I were supreme, try again any Egyptian forces at Suakin, but would engage 3000 Turkish troops in British pay. That would settle the affair. It would be sufficient for the Padishah's troops to appear to cause a collapse of all fanatical feeling."—ED.

5*th November*.—1000 Troops at Kartoum. 6000 Turks land at Suakin and march to Berber. 4000 Turks land at Massowah and march to Kassala.

8*th November*.—Defeat of Arabs on south lines—unless they have bolted.

12*th November*.—Defeat Arabs near El foun, unless they have submitted.

15*th November*.—Despatch of force to Sennaar to clear country round Medinet.

1*st* to 10*th December*.—Arrival of Turks at Berber and Kartoum, and at Kassala.

20*th December*.—Return of Her Majesty's forces to Wady Halfa, leaving 1000 men at Dongola till Turks could come from Berber.

The frontier to be Wady Halfa. All steamers, &c., to be handed over to the Turks. The two millions to be paid in four instalments.

Suakin and Massowah to be free ports under the Turks.

Egypt is responsible for the pensions of those who return to Egypt. Turkey is responsible for the pensions of those who stay in the Soudan. I see nothing to prevent the whole affair being settled by the end of January, and the whole expeditionary force from being in Cairo at the end of February.

As for the slave-trade, one cannot help it.*

* "Several telegrams have been sent from press asking about what I said respecting slaves. The question asked me was this: Did I insist on the liberation of slaves in 1889 as per Treaty 1877?

I cannot see why France could object if we let her have some "say" in Egypt. She will thwart all we do there unless we do let her have a "say."*

We make up with Turkey by this action, and she would aid us to prevent Egypt being annexed by any other Power.

Remember we have no time to lose—that we must make our choice at once—and that choice must be one of a strong decisive kind, with no shifting hopes of something turning up. Our expedition is very ticklish, very expensive, and *utterly unremunerative.*

If once our men get sickly up here, and our programme is a skedaddle, the consequences might be most disastrous. The skedaddle programme would cool all the people against us, and strengthen the Mahdi immensely; and then there is no way to avoid the heats, unless by the skedaddle programme; but if you agree with the Turks, you avoid the heats and the skedaddle programme, and have people with you.

I answered that the Treaty would not be enforced in 1889 by me, which, considering the determination of Her Majesty's Government respecting Soudan, was a self-evident fact. The question is one of slave-holding, not of slave-hunting, and, in my opinion, that Treaty of 1877 will never be carried out in Cairo as to slave-holding."—*General Gordon's telegram to Sir E. Baring, received at Cairo Feb.* 21, 1884, *Egypt* 12, *No.* 132.—ED.

"Let it be known to you all that I have been appointed, in concert between the Khedive's Government and the Government of Great Britain, Governor-General of the whole Soudan; and the Soudan has now become an independent State, to govern itself without the intervention of the Egyptian Government in any way whatever."—*General Gordon's Proclamation to All the Notables and Inhabitants in the Soudan, Feb.* 13, 1884.—ED.

* General Gordon is here probably quoting the views of Herbin, the French Consul.—ED.

I hope I am not going down to History as being the cause of this expedition, for I decline the imputation. *The expedition comes up to deliver the garrisons.** I think it would read well in history: "Her Majesty's Government having accepted duties in Egypt, and consequently in the Soudan, sent up a force to restore tranquillity, which, having been done, Her Majesty's Government handed over that government of the Soudan to the Sultan."

Our people may try as they like, they can never govern Egypt and pay the interest; combine with France, and let down the interest to 3 per cent., which we cannot do without France agreeing.

As for any of the men in Cairo now pretending to govern, it is useless; they know nothing of, and have no sympathy with, the country. What can they know of the country, sitting at Cairo? What the people want, is half taxes, and Censors going through provinces remedying evils. Do away with Wood's army, an useless expense. Do away with three-fourths of European employés, railway, &c., &c.—cormorants!—ditto Gendarmerie.

I shall send out three men in different directions to-morrow to Debbeh, with further notifications that three steamers, and each with two field-guns, are at Metemma, Shendy, 150 miles from Ambukol, which is 35 miles higher up river than Debbeh, waiting orders

* Though, as shown in a previous note, General Gordon was right in assuming no expedition would have been sent had he not been in Kartoum with Stewart, he is also right in saying, "The expedition comes up to deliver the garrisons," for the avowed policy declared in the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to Lord Wolseley was that steps were to be taken to insure the safe retreat of the Egyptian troops and civil employés.—ED.

of expeditionary force, and saying Cuzzi's baggage is to be searched. I have now done all I can. In ten days' time I shall send a steamer to Metemma with further information. The attempt to fire the magazine has made me vicious with the people. No one in from Arabs to-day. Query, *ominous!*

October 4.—The boiler will be put in the new steamer (sister to *Abbas*) to-day. She will be ready for sea in six days.

Report from Cassim el Mousse late last night. Arabs say Sheikh el Obeyed meditates an attack on Halfeyeh. The trouble these Shaggyeh have given us is beyond description.

Ibrahim Bey Ruckdi, loq. Lutraim: "He called for me at (9 P.M.) 3! in the night; he bullied me to work. Can you imagine such a thing?—it is preposterous. He flew at me like a tiger, because I showed he was unreasonable. It is *Bairam* too: can you imagine such a thing?"

Awaan, Arabi's clerk, has been telling, in the town, that the letters I got saying, "Her Majesty's troops are advancing," were written by him and sent down, and then returned. There is an evident wish to take off his head; but I think he is more fool than knave, and shall try and resist the wish of town.

Saleh Pasha's son telegraphed to me he wanted to come and see me. I answered he might come or *go*, as he liked. He said, what did I mean by "go?" I was much tempted to say, "*Go to your father, who is in chains with Mahdi*," but resisted temptation, and said, "*Go out of telegraph station.*"

I had to send down ten barges for those creatures at 10 P.M. last night. (See p. 228.)

No spies in this morning; people will begin to believe Awaan's statement, that he it was who wrote the letters (I pretended to have had) from the English.

A woman just in says there is a report with the Arabs that the English are at Dongola; that a steamer and four nuggars, with English, are at Berber (?) (I expect she has mixed up Stewart's steamer and boats with her story); that the Arab chief of Berber has sent for help, which has not yet been sent him.

One of those large shells was blown up by a boy treading on it; it does not appear to have hurt him; it was in the group of date palms opposite to the Palace.

I confess the shells do not seem so very destructive. Perhaps they are too deeply buried; however, they have frightened people.

A small boy and five men escaped from the Arabs and came in. The Mahdi, with Europeans, is at Schatt; he means to come to Omdurman. They corroborate that some troops went back to Obeyed to put down the rising of tribes.

The boiler has been successfully put in the small steamer.

It is odd how quick the blacks, by instinct, know how to avoid the effects of the shells, by throwing themselves on the ground when they hear the fizz of the quick-match; they all do it, and thus have escaped. Of course it would not do in an assault. The little black chap never ran so fast as he did when he got up after the explosion, never looking behind him. He went to two black sluts, who had been alarmed at

the noise, and explained the opening of the ground, &c., with a good deal of gesticulation. They had a sort of Medgliss* on the subject whether it was not time to return home, and pick no more grass, after such dreadful things had happened, and which ended in their doing so, carefully avoiding the scene of the accident.

I expect these improvident people killed over 1000 sheep and goats at their Bairam; the report is that it exceeds that number.

There is no doubt there will be a fearful famine in this country next year, for there are vast districts lying desert which were formerly cultivated.

The party which went to Jaila, the village north of Halfeyeh which the Arabs had attacked, have come back with the rescued families, and twenty-five cows captured from the so-called rebels. (Query, Who are the rebels, *we or the Arabs?*) (To-day is the 206th day we have been more or less shut up. Delightful life! I wonder what Azotus [Ashdod] felt with its twenty-nine years blockade?)

October 5.—Two men and a boy came in from the Arabs, and report that the Mahdi has made a small advance towards Omdurman. Little else of import. They say Hussein Pasha Khalifa, Saleh Pasha, Slatin, and all the Europeans are with the Mahdi; that Kordofan is in turmoil; that the Arabs say they will wait till they can collect a lot of men, and then will attack the lines.

If you do not arrange with the Turks you will not get out of the country for a year, and it will cost

* Court of Enquiry.—ED.

you twelve millions, and probably then you will have to fall back on the Turks.* Whereas if you arrange with the Turks you can get out in January, and it will cost you seven millions, including the two millions you give the Turks. Truly this black sister "Soudan" has avenged her white sister "Egypt."

A scorpion in bath sponge this morning. It stung me upon the finger. I murdered it, and so am quits. I wonder whether any analysis has been made of the scorpion's and the cobra's poison. This is the sixth time I have been stung.

A sheikh of the neighbourhood came in, and says a short time ago a Frenchman came up with two Arabs from Dongola to the Mahdi. The Mahdi could not make it out, and asked why he came. The man said he had come up to salute the Mahdi. The Mahdi being suspicious imprisoned him for seven days, and then let him out. He was in a Dervish dress. It is said he spoke to Saleh Pasha and to Slatin in secret, upon which the Mahdi separated these two, and put them in open arrest (is this Rochefort?) My informant says he denied to the Mahdi that the English were in Dongola, but told Slatin and Saleh Pasha that they were there. This man is with the Mahdi now, and is free. It might be Renan,** the author of the "Life of Jesus," who in his last publication takes leave of the world, and is said to have gone into Africa, not to re-appear again. He was a Roman Catholic priest originally, is a great Arabic scholar, and evidently a very unhappy and restless man.

I met him once in the rooms of the Royal Geo-

* This forecast is in a fair way of being fulfilled.—ED.

** It seems pretty clear that this is Olivier Pain.

graphical Society one afternoon, and I remember the Secretary proposing to him to go up to the *top* of that *high house!* to see the observatory. Renan declined. He looked bored and weary in being made a hero of, and when Sir R. Alcock introduced me to him, I suppose he saw my look of commiseration for his trials, and was civil to me. I have often thought we might meet again. What a fearful infliction hero-worship is to its victim. I think it a great impertinence to praise a man to his face. It implies you are his superior, for the great praises the smaller; and though that may be the case, it is not necessary to announce it to the smaller. Supposing one is wrinkled and grey-haired, it is satire to say you are smooth-skinned, &c., &c., and beautiful, and so it must be with every man who knows himself and who is praised—endurance, self-denial, and twaddle—one would have bolted like a lamplighter if one could, and one could have stood the after criticism.

. . . on going to the trenches before Sevastopol fell out, and said he would not go down. The colonel put him under arrest. He was in a way more plucky to do this than to go to the trenches. Self-sacrifice is that of a nurse—ignored (and "paid," of course, what can she want more!). No one goes into ecstacies over her self-denial.

If it is Renan he will not approve of the pepper system. The man says the Mahdi was perfectly astounded at this Frenchman's appearance, and did nothing but question him. "Why do you come here?" &c., &c. If he comes to the lines, and it is Renan, I shall go and see him, for, whatever one may think of his unbelief in our Lord, he certainly dared to say

what he thought, and he has not changed his creed to save his life.

A black mother and her two sons have come in, and say the Mahdi is at Jura Hadra, twenty-five miles south of Duem. The woman was delighted to see herself in the mirrors, and grinned and smirked at her reflections.

Spies say Nuehr Bey Angara has been sent back by the Mahdi to Obeyed, to put down the rising of the tribes; if he would only *rise* himself, for he is an old friend of mine, the Mahdi would be cut off from Obeyed and be in a bad way.

The steamer *Bordeen* is back from Halfeyeh.

We chose to regard Greece, Spain, Turkey, Mexico, and other lands, as debtors and bankrupts. We did not attempt to saddle the rulers, personally, with the debts of these countries—excepting in the case of Egypt and Ismail Pasha (*i.e.*, we did not turn out the rulers of those states, while we did turn out Ismail), of course it is easy to put it down to his ill-faith. I expect the rulers of those other states were guilty of far worse faith. It is the custom to *say* we acted in the interests of the oppressed fellaheen, but what have the fellaheen gained up to the present time? Where are those millions to come from I have talked of?

Let us consider dispassionately the state of affairs. Does Her Majesty's Government consider they are responsible for the extrication of the Soudan garrisons and Cairo inhabitants? We can only judge that Her Majesty's Government does recognise this responsibility, for otherwise why did they send me up, and why did they relieve Tokar? Once this responsibility is assumed, I see no outlet for it but to relieve the

garrisons, *coûte que coûte*. It may be said that the object of the present expedition is for *my* relief *personally*. But how is it possible for me to go away and leave men whom I have egged on to fight for the last six months? How could I leave after encouraging Sennaar to hold out? No one could possibly wish me to do so. No Government could take the responsibility of so ordering me. There is this difficulty: perhaps it would be patriotic to bolt; but *even if* I could get *my mind* to do it, I doubt if it is possible to get *my body* out of this place. Had Baring said in March, "Shift for yourself as best you can," which he could have done, the affair could have been arranged, and we could have bolted to the Equator; but, if you look over my telegrams,* you will see I ask him what he will do, and he never answered.** The people

* Not received from the Government with these Journals.

** "European Consuls came to me to-day with the question whether Kartoum was menaced. I replied that it was not so, directly, but that the road to Berber was threatened. They asked me if I could help them to go to Berber. I replied 'Yes.' There is no doubt that when these Europeans leave, it will be a most significant sign to the people in this town and in the provinces that no assistance is likely to come to Kartoum. Under these circumstances, what do you recommend me to say in order to neutralise the ill-effects of their departure?—*General Gordon to Sir Evelyn Baring, Kartoum, March* 9, 1884, 11.30 P.M. *Egypt, No.* 12 (1884), *Inclosure in No.* 242.

"You know exactly the position of the different garrisons so far as I can explain it, and that there is no probability of the people rallying round me, or of paying any attention to my Proclamation.

"If you mean to make the proposed diversion to Berber (of British troops), and to accept my proposal as to Zebehr, to instal him in the Soudan and evacuate, then it is worth while to hold on to Kartoum.

"If on the other hand, you determine on neither of these

had not then endured any privation, and I was, as it were, not much engaged to them; but now it is

steps, then I can see no use in holding on to Kartoum, for it is impossible for me to help the other garrisons, and I shall only be sacrificing the whole of the troops and *employés* here.

"In this latter case, your instructions to me had better be that I should evacuate Kartoum, and, with all the employés and troops, remove the seat of government to Berber. You would understand that such a step would mean the sacrificing of all outlying places except Berber and Dongola.

"You must give a prompt reply to this, as even the retreat to Berber may not be in my power in a few days; and, even if carried out at once, the retreat will be of extreme difficulty.

"I should have to leave large stores, and nine steamers which cannot go down. Eventually, some question would arise at Berber and Dongola, and I may utterly fail in getting the Cairo employés to Berber.

"If I attempt it, I could be responsible only for the attempt to do so.

"Once the Mahdi is in Kartoum, operations against him will be very arduous, and will not serve Sennaar and Kassala."

"*Kartoum, March* 9, 1884, 11.40 P.M.

"If the immediate evacuation of Kartoum is determined upon, irrespective of outlying towns, I would propose to send down all the Cairo employés and white troops with Colonel Stewart to Berber, where he would await your orders. I would also ask Her Majesty's Government to accept the resignation of my commission, and I would take all steamers and stores up to the Equatorial and Bahr Gazelle Provinces, and consider those provinces as under the King of the Belgians.

"You would be able to retire all Cairo employés and white troops with Stewart from Berber to Dongola, and thence to Wady Halfa.

"If you, therefore, determine on the immediate evacuation of Kartoum, this is my idea. If you object, tell me.

"It is the only solution that I can see if the immediate evacuation of Kartoum, irrespective of the outlying towns, is determined upon."—*Ibid.*—ED.

different, especially as we have communicated with Sennaar.

No one can judge the waste of money and expense of life in the present expedition—it is an utter waste of both—but it is simply due to the indecisions of our Government. Had they said from the first, "We do not care—we will do nothing for the garrisons of the Soudan, they may perish;" had they not relieved Tokar; had they not telegraphed to me as to the force to relieve me (*vide* telegrams, 5th May, from Suakin; 29th April, from Massowah). Had they telegraphed (when Baring telegraphed to Cuzzi 29th March, which arrived here saying, "No British troops are coming to Berber, negotiations going on about opening road—Graham was about to attack Osman Digna"), "*SHIFT FOR YOURSELF*," why, nothing could have been said; but Her Majesty's Government would not say they were going to abandon the garrisons, and therefore "*shift for yourself*." It is that which has hampered us so much. On the one hand, if I bolted I deserted them (Her Majesty's Government); on the other hand, by staying I have brought about this expedition. Baring gave me distinct orders not to go to the Equator without the permission of Her Majesty's Government (*vide* telegrams with Stewart's journal).* I do not question the policy of Her Majesty's Government in not keeping the Soudan. It is a wretched

* "I have received your telegram of the 9th inst., informing me that you have received a letter from General Gordon from which it appears that that officer contemplates proceeding to Bahr Gazelle and the Equatorial Provinces. I have to state that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that General Gordon should not at present go beyond Kartoum."—*Earl Granville to Sir E. Baring, Feb.* 11*th*, 1884. *Egypt, No.* 12 *No.* 4.—ED.

country, and not worth keeping. I do not pretend even to judge the policy of letting the garrisons, &c., &c., perish; but I do say, I think that Her Majesty's Government ought to have taken the bold step of speaking out and saying, "*SHIFT FOR YOURSELF*" *in March*, when I could have done so, and not now, when I am in honour bound to the people after six months' bothering warfare. Not only did Baring not say, "*Shift for yourself*," but he put a veto upon my going to the Equator—*vide* his telegrams in Stewart's Journal. I say this because no one deplores more the waste of money and life in this expedition, and no one can realise its difficulties better than myself, but, owing to what has past, owing to indecision, we are in for it, and the only thing now to do is to see how to get out of it, with honour and the least expense possible—and I see no other way than by giving the country to the Turks. I am not raising difficulties, or being cantankerous; I wish most sincerely I was out of the place, where from February I have had no peace. The question is how to do so. I may be wrong, but I have a strong suspicion that much rejoicing (*rejoicing* perhaps a *little* for my personal, but a good deal for my official safety) would have taken place in official circles had I appeared in the *Abbas* with Stewart; but it was not even physically possible, and I should have been a disgraced man for ever had I been able to do so and had done it. Besides which, we were entirely in doubt as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government as to letting the garrisons slide or not. I might have been tried for deserting my post, and for letting the steamers and stores fall into the hands of the Mahdi, for that was certain within five days of my

quitting the place. What I suspect or do not suspect, would not justify me in my action, and, as it turns out, my suspicions were wrong, for after Stewart left, I hear a British force is coming up—of course it is a query what is it coming up for? If *for the garrisons*, then I have done what the Government wants, for I have kept the city; if *for me*, then I have done wrong, for I should have come down at all costs; but in one case great inconvenience would have been given; while in the other it is only my life—and if it is *for me* the expedition comes, it would be better to tell me, "Shift for yourself; we do not mean to extricate the garrisons" —in which case perhaps we may find an issue—at any rate the people will know exactly the state of affairs, and our Government will not be exposed to an unnecessary expense and danger in sending troops up here for *ME*. I should consider Her Majesty's Government were completely exonerated from all responsibility with respect to myself if they sent me that order, "*Shift for yourself;* we *do not mean to extricate the garrisons*," I should make my arrangements, and (telling the people how I am situated, with no hope of relief for them), should make a bolt to the Equator in six weeks' time. There would be no dishonour in that, for, as I had no relief coming, the only sequel of my staying with them would be to be a prisoner with them, and in fact my presence would only exasperate the Arabs instead of being of any good.

It may be argued, Why not retreat on Berber? I would rather not do that, for I would wish to show in a positive way that I had no part or lot in the abandoning of the garrisons, &c., &c., and, at any rate, I should save the garrisons of the Equator and of

the Bahr Gazelle if I succeeded in getting away to them.

October 6.—The steamer *Bordeen* up the *Blue* Nile wasting a lot of ammunition on the Arab foraging parties. No arsenals could stand this drain on their resources. I expect that the *Bordeen* fired fifty rounds to-day.

Three escaped soldiers came in from the Arabs; they say that the Arabs have sent a Krupp and a mountain gun to Giraffe; so that may account for the heavy firing above mentioned. One of the men say the Arabs placed two boats in a position close to the two guns they had brought, in order to entice the steamer to go and take them, thus hoping to sink her. However, I am glad to say the steamer is on her way back. The continual anxiety one is in about these little things is very wearing. One never knows if, through some rash act, I may not lose a steamer, or men may not be cut off. One has no man like Gessi* who one can trust for these little expeditions. Steamer *Towfikia* went up the White Nile and fired upon the Arabs. It is just as I thought: the *Bordeen* steamer has come back, having been struck by a shell about a foot above the water-line, close to the cutwater; no one was hurt. All the Arabs are going from the White Nile towards Giraffe. I expect we shall have the old

* Romulus Gessi, who was formerly employed as interpreter at the head-quarters of the army before Sebastopol, and who did such excellent work against the slave-hunters in the Soudan as General Gordon's lieutenant in 1878. Gessi was subsequently appointed Governor of the Bahr Gazelle, but was obliged to retire owing to the intrigues of Raouf Pasha. He died at the hospital at Suez in 1881.—ED.

game at Bourré again. In these circumstances you can imagine how very vicious one feels towards Her Majesty's Intelligence Department for not giving us any news. It is not so much for myself as it is for the townspeople.*

The steamer reports that the Arabs had five guns. It is evident the Arabs mean to hold the Blue Nile by their force at Giraffe, and I dare not try to dislodge them; they will then communicate with the Sheikh el Obeyed's force, and eventually come down upon Shoboloha or thereabouts; while the Mahdi, coming to Omdurman, will circle us in, a second time.

Owing to a discovered intrigue and the risk of having too much power in the hands of one man, I have sent Ibrahim Ruckdi to Malia as chief clerk, and Gugliz Bey of Malia is made my chief clerk. Nothing like change of air for these fellows.

As interesting to Stewart, I will mention the intrigue. He knows of the letters which came, accusing Ibrahim Ruckdi of venality. Well, a Medgliss was held, and Mahomet Bey Agad was found guilty of sending the letters. I did not care to push the matter, for, in my belief, Agad was right in his accusation, although he had no right to write anonymously. *Of course* the Medgliss found him guilty, as every Egyptian Medgliss does every one sent before it; so I temporised and hinted to a third person that it would be well if Ibrahim asked pardon of Agad; this hint, being of course a sort

* General Gordon's chief complaint against the Intelligence Department was that they spent no money in bribing natives to try and get messages through to Kartoum; had they done so, many, he held, would have volunteered, and some must have succeeded.
ED.

of order, he took; but I noticed he was working against Agad; and yesterday he came with a paper against Hassan Agad the Sandjak, putting it forward as Ferratch Pasha's idea to turn Hassan Agad out. I thought over it, and it worried me, the viciousness of the man; but I took no action. However, to-day, as I told him to write another order about the troops saluting me by stopping in the road and saying he was responsible for it, he said, as he turned away, in an impertinent manner, "Am I Commandant of troops!" He was brought back, and, nose to grindstone, was sent to Malia, and Gugliz Bey was brought up to chief clerkship.

I own I am suspicious, *i.e.*, I judge by the eye, by little signs, &c., for I do not know the language; but I cannot help thinking I am more often right than wrong with my suspicions. One comes on a group of clerks, heads all together, in the chief clerk's room; one sees disturbed countenances at once. I cannot help thinking "You are concocting devilry!" and I look out for some "*tricks*."

Another soldier escaped here from the Arabs, and says the Mahdi is at Jura Hadra, and intends coming to Omdurman. He does not appear to think the Arabs care for the English advance, though they know they are at Dongola, "a far cry," they say, to Kartoum. They consider Hicks's defeat was one over the English troops. One thing is good, viz., that the Arabs came down to Giraffe, for if they stay there, when the British do come they will fall easy victims without any long march inland. It certainly does seem astounding that the Arabs seem so confident when a British force is only 150 miles from them, which is the case, for that

distance of 150 miles alone separates the three steamers from Debbeh, which has a waterway to Dongola, and the place the three steamers are at, has a waterway to Kartoum. In reality, with a well-equipped force, Debbeh is not more than eight days' from Kartoum at the outside, saying that the 150 miles were made in six and a-half days, which for camels is twenty-five miles a day, very easy marching; while, from Metemma to this is 100 miles—a day and a half for steamers (when I say Debbeh, I mean Ambukol, to which place from Debbeh you have the open river). The appearance of one British soldier or officer here settles the question of relief *vis-à-vis* the townspeople, for then they know that I have not told them lies.

The Arabs fired fourteen rounds at the *Bordeen*. The shell which entered her was a Krupp; the hole is now repaired.

It was an unfortunate remark of Ibrahim Ruckdi, "Am I Commandant of soldiers?" I had dimissed the thought of changing him, having comforted myself that, one way or another, my tenure of office could not be long up here, when he said that; it was like a match in powder; he was brought back, and made then and there to sign his dismissal. I do not think he realised it, even after he had written it. Even to me it was a surprise, for I really had given up all idea of sending him off.

The sister steamer to the *Abbas* will be finished, I hope, in four days. She will be called the *Hussein*, after the head of the dockyard. The other one, also a sister steamer, will be, I hope, finished in six weeks, if we exist that time. Of the two steamers at Berber

with Arabs, the *Fascher* and the *Monsuhania*—the latter is reported disabled.

I have ordered *Bordeen* to go on the White Nile on patrol from Kalakli to Shoboloha; the *Ismailia* is at Halfeyeh, *Towfikia* at Omdurman.

The Arabs, who went in numbers to Giraffe to-day, went back to their Dem at sunset.

We have another large steamer, the *Chabeen*, up in our *dry-dock*, which I hope will be soon ready for action.

A man came in from the Arabs; he says Seyd Mahomet Osman has sent 300 camels to bring his family from Shendy to Kassala (this is a bad sign); he says the English have advanced towards Berber.

October 7.—Ibrahim Ruckdi has fallen from £60 per month to £30. Sixteen soldiers with their arms came in to-day from the Arabs, also one slave; they had not much to say. Arabs had three guns against the steamer yesterday; they kept one gun at Giraffe, where they keep small detachments all night. The Arabs pursued the men escaping, and fired a few rounds, but did no harm; with these men came in four women of theirs, quite a flock.

I really think the Arabs on the south side keep such a way off because they are afraid of the captured soldiers deserting. The sixteen men who came in were splendid fellows, all nearly six feet; they say a body of forty others have made up their minds to come in a mass either to-day or to-morrow.

An Arab of Kartoum came in from Omdurman; says grass huts are being made for the Mahdi's arrival there; man says the Arabs report "English and Turkish

troops at Debbeh." *Towfikia* went up the White Nile; saw a few Arabs, who fired on her.

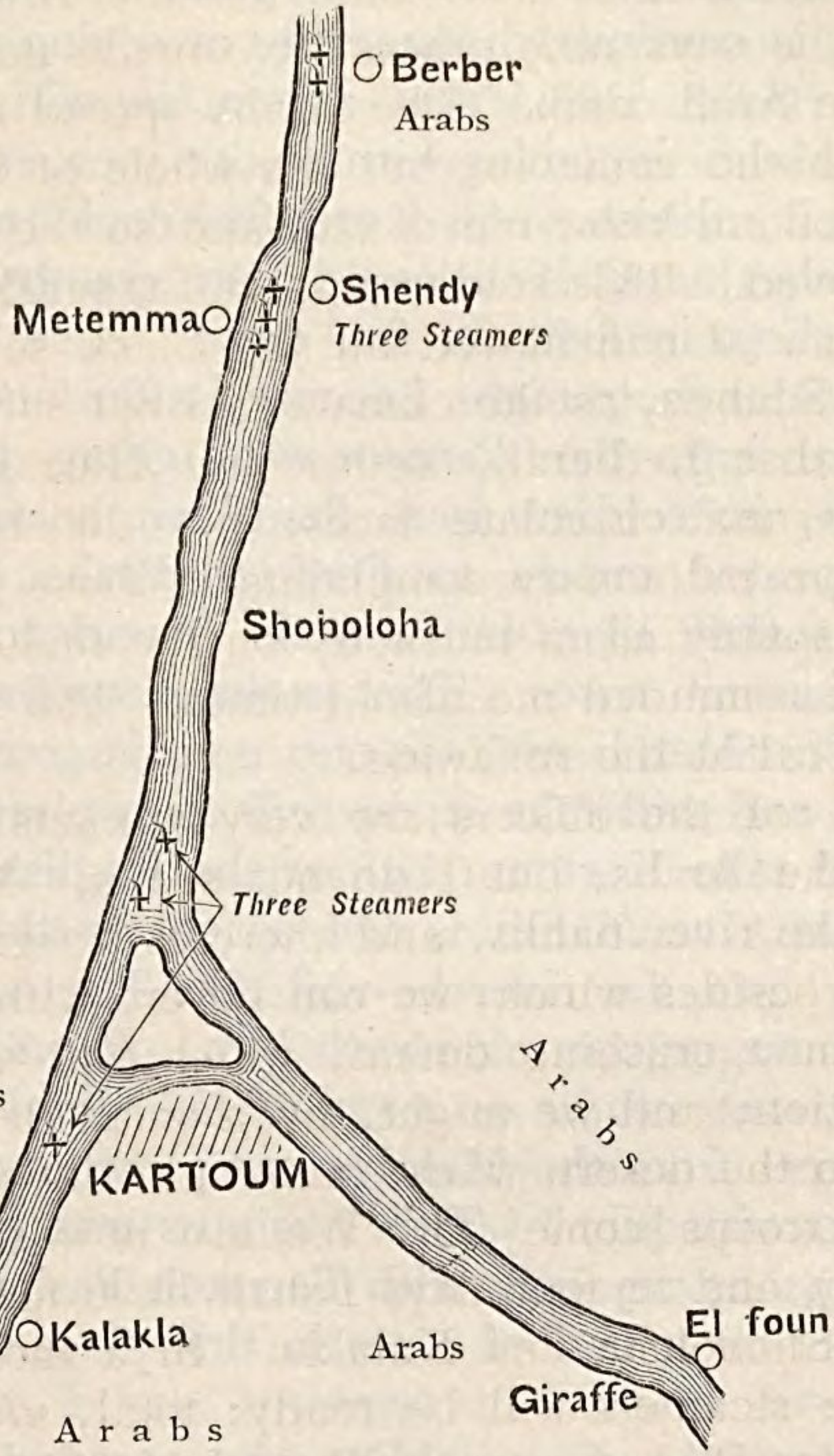
Another soldier has come in—the Arabs will be furious; he says nine others have made up a party to leave the Arab camp. The Arabs spread reports that I kill all who come in; but the whole of the soldiers of the Soudan know me of old, and so the reports are not believed. This soldier was at Berberah when last I saw him. I had moved all the black soldiers from there to Senheit, as the climate did not suit them. It is odd that Berberah, Zeila, and Harrar suits the Egyptian and chocolate faces; not the blacks, who suffer from pulmonary complaints in those parts.

The sputtering of musketry on the lines this morning quite reminded me of old times. The Arabs fired a good deal at the runaways.

Some of the officers are very anxious to go out against the Arabs, but I do not see it. We are not safe off the river banks, and there is no good risking matters; besides which, we can never, with our force, give them a crushing defeat, which will alone settle the question; and we might, by a small defeat, drive them into the desert, where one could not reach them if other troops come up. We are now thus placed (see Map), and in four days I shall have four steamers between Shoboloha and Kalakla. In a month I hope two more steamers will be ready: total, *nine*. Arabs have *two* at Berber, *one* at Wad el Medines; of those at Berber only one is fit for work, the *Fascher*.

I will mention a secret in all Egyptian administrations, *i.e.*, if you give an order, it is totally inefficient in three days' time if not repeated again and again at intervals; it seems as if its essence evaporated in the

heat of these countries. The officers would laugh you to scorn if you said, "Why, I gave a *standing order*



respecting this or that." It would be to them perfectly ridiculous and absurd to expect a "standing order" to be obeyed, unless *repeated* at intervals. In most services, standing orders are regarded, but certainly not in Egypt; this is the reason why all those beautiful

proclamations and laws issued by the control and their successors, are *dead letters* after ten days; they are constructed for the European Press. What is needed, is continual hammering at seeing your orders obeyed. Saleh Pasha sent a man in with a message to me: "Mahdi is coming with 40,000 men, etc., etc., etc." This is all rubbish. All Kordofan could not produce this number; and if it could, the country could not support them in food for five days.

Fearful row to-night because, after one-and-a-half days' warning, the *Bordeen* was going to start for Halfeyeh, no soldiers were found on board, and this after repeated orders to Ferratch Pasha. Men may say what they like, but one is bound to lose one's temper in such cases. This is the story Saleh Pasha's man tells: "Mahdi with 40,000 men is coming to Omdurman, and will take it; he will then plunge into the river and take Kartoum before the English come." I reply that "the Mahdi is not a fool to think that by plunging into the river he will take Kartoum, neither can he have 40,000 men with him. *Put Saleh Pasha's messenger into chains as a spy of the enemy.*" We have spies direct from the Mahdi's camp, who say "he has not 3000 with him." This business was going at the same time as my row with Ferratch Pasha—certainly one is not on a bed of roses in this place.

October 8th.—One soldier who escaped this morning, reports that the Arabs are furious at the desertions of yesterday. Saleh Pasha's messenger (spoken of yesterday), on being put in chains, acknowledges his statement is all fudge about Mahdi's 40,000 men, &c., &c.

A sergeant escaped from the Arabs; he says the

Arabs sent up about 200 black soldiers to Mesalamieh to get grain, and they escaped to Sennaar; that Waled a Goun meditates coming over, with two guns, to the old Dem, which was previously occupied by the son of Sheikh el Obeyed, on the north side, near Halfeyeh, which, if he does, will be a great bore for us. The Mahdi is at Jura Hadra; that a man had come from near Berber to say the expedition was advancing towards that place. One has heard so much of this sort of report that taken with the report of Waled a Goun coming to Halfeyeh, one is inclined to doubt it, for he would not be likely to do that if it was true about the expedition at Berber.

Sent out spy from Halfeyeh towards Shendy.

Whatever may happen, I hope it will be put to our credit that we gave you the *Abbas* steamer, and placed three steamers at your disposal at Metemma,—when, if we had them we might have cut the route between Jura on left bank of the Nile, and Fakir Ibraham on the right bank of the Nile,—besides using up 350 soldiers of our meagre garrison in the equipages of those steamers! Truly the indecision of our Government has been, from a military point of view, a very great bore, for we never could act as if independent; there was always the chance of their taking action, which hampered us.

Take the Tokar business: had Baker been supported by, say, 500 men, he would not have been defeated; yet, after he was defeated, you go and send a force to relieve the town. Had Baker been supported by these 500 men, he would, in all probability, have been victorious, and would have pushed on to Berber, and, once there, Berber would not have fallen.

What was right to do in *March*, was right to do in *February*. We sent an expedition in March, so we ought to have sent it in February; and then, the worst of it was, that Baker, having been defeated, *when you did send your expedition to Tokar*, Baker's force no longer existed, and his guns resist me at Berber. It is truly deplorable, the waste of men and money, on account of our indecision. Baker's expedition ought never to have been pushed forward, unless by small stages, supported by forts. It had not more than fifteen or twenty miles to go, and that distance ought to be, so to say, sapped. Take your present expedition, I do not know (*thanks to that Intelligence Department!*) the details, but it seems to me that till 20th August, or thereabouts, we were supposed to be quietly disposed of, but about that date our resurrection occurred, and then, "Let us have an expedition at once, and send for Wolseley." Had the men at Wady Halfa (Duncan) been told in March (when he came up to Assouan) to make *étapes* up to Dongola, they would have been all ready for the expedition now. Personally, I do not care, but I think what a perfect mess we would be in, in an European war. I am convinced Wood, the Sirdar, and many others, foresaw what was likely to happen, but they did not consider they were called upon to make a row about it. (Plutarch's Lives are out of print in our generation; we do not like to be what club men call insubordinate, though, of all insubordinates, the club men are the worst.) What is the consequence? Why, an infinite expense and great difficulty. Mark the way the Mahdi treated Cuzzi: is it likely he did it for the love of Cuzzi? was it not because Cuzzi told him of Baring's telegram,

"that no troops will be sent to Berber?" Remember, though I put these queries, it is not I who put them: it is *history*. Why did Baker go to Suakin, and Wood, the Sirdar, stay at Cairo? One was chief of gendarmerie; the other was commander-in-chief. It was not a question of police, but of war. If it was right to let Sinkat perish, it was right to let Tokar; if it was right to relieve Tokar, it was right to see after Berber, and thence on to Kartoum, Sennaar, Kassala, Bahr Gazelle, and the Equator. At any rate, *be consistent*. No one can question the right of the Government to decide; but when they decide, let it be a decision. "WE WILL ABANDON ALTOGETHER, *and not care what happens*." That is a decision one can understand, whether one approves or not. We are not the judges; but what we have done is such, that I declare I very much doubt what is really going to be the policy of our Government, even now that the expedition is at Dongola.

What were my ideas in coming out? They were these: *agreed abandonment of Soudan, but extricate the garrisons*, and these were the instructions of the Government; and I only wish that the public would look over Baring's and my telegrams exchanged from 28th February to 16th March, and see how he answered me:* it was as if I was amusing myself up here. And then that light-hearted fellow Egerton . . . adds to it ("that I am in [Capua]"), "What are your

* General Gordon to Sir E. Baring, March 1st.—"*Re* policy. I maintain firmly policy of eventual evacuation, but I tell you plainly it is impossible to get Cairo employés out of Kartoum unless the Government helps in the way I told you."—*Inclosure* 1 *in No.* 229, *No.* 12 *in Blue Book No.* 12.

Sir Evelyn Baring replies in a telegram dated March 2nd, 1884: — "I have received your eleven telegrams of the last

intentions in staying at Kartoum?"* I should like to see some explanation why no efforts were made for the *relief* of the *garrisons* before August (*not* MY *relief*). Berber was known to have fallen in March; it may be said the season was not good, then why in June does Egerton tell me to make *contracts?* I hope Stewart will *cut out all this biliousness.*

9 P.M. *Telegraph cut with Halfeyeh.* This corroborates rather what this man who came in to-day said, *i.e.* that the Arabs meditate coming again to the Dem, north of this town, which will be a trouble—it will be the beginning of a second blockade, and I hope the *last*, for I declare I do not think I could go through a third *blockade*—siege is too great a word for it.

October 9.—Telegraph repaired with Halfeyeh. The Arabs came down on the lines with two guns and exchanged some shots with our people. Only waste of ammunition.

One soldier escaped from the Arabs to-day. He

four days on matters of general policy. I am most anxious to help and support you in every way, but find it very difficult to understand exactly what you want. I think your best plan will be to reconsider the whole question carefully and then state to me in one telegram what it is you recommend, &c."

* Earl Granville to Mr. Egerton, April, 23rd, 1884:—"Gordon should be at once informed by several messengers . . . that we do not propose to supply him with Turkish or other force for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions, such being beyond the scope of the commission he holds, and at variance with the pacific policy which was the purpose of his mission to the Soudan; that, if with this knowledge, he continues at Kartoum, he should state to us the cause and intention with which he so continues."—*Egypt*, *No.* 12 (1884), *No.* 36.—ED.

came from Sheikh el Obeyed. He says they have got the gun which was captured at Katarif.

The Arabs fired seventeen shells this morning, but did no harm.

Those Shaggyeh! I will back them to try a man's patience more sorely than any other people in the whole world, yea, and in the Universe. It is no use detailing their efforts. I have now sent Moussa Bey down to Halfeyeh. I really believe that they did try the patience of the Arabs, from all I hear; for the Arabs frequently thought of putting them to the sword, and I can quite imagine Arabs having this thought, from the wear and tear they have given me.

Of course, the officer on the lines reports masses of Arabs killed to-day.

Sheikh el Obeyed killed all the prisoners he took (who were inhabitants of Kartoum) in Mahomet Ali's defeat, near El foun. I have ordered the sale of 200 ardebs of grain, no one to buy more than $^1/_4$-ardeb.

Stewart will be annoyed at hearing "Ibrahim Ruckdi is *very ill ! ! ! !*" Illness dates from hour of being turned out of head clerk's place; he has not sent for the doctor.

It will be a satisfaction for some to know that, owing to their not sending me any news, I am exposed to hearing all sorts of disquieting rumours from the town, which, though I do not mind them, are not destined to make one's life lighter. The Ulemás have been coming here for two days to see me; they have been bothering for more grain, and so I put off seeing them, but I gave them one ardeb a piece. To-day, however, they pushed an interview, but I still held out, and said they *must* tell my Vakeel what they had

to say. After a deal of palaver my Vakeel came in to say, "*that the whole of the town requested I would take back Ibrahim Ruckdi.*" What an idea! I said "The town had better mind their own business, and leave me to mind mine." I think it is lovely! and how Ruckdi must have worked at it during his *severe illness*. Ruckdi had got at my servants. Edrees, the butler, told me, with a look of deepest commiseration, how ill Ruckdi was, on which I laughed. I guessed he was on the sick list, and had asked. "Yes" (with a deep sigh), "*Ruckdi was very ill.*" "Illness commenced when?" I asked. "Oh, a long time back, but duty and fidelity to *me* had enabled him to crawl through his work," at which I laughed again. Then came the Ulemas, with the town petition. I can quite imagine when men have bribed the chief clerk A. to be favourable, that it is a bother to have to go through the same process with chief clerk B. on A.'s being turned out; it upsets all calculations. Ruckdi will return to Cairo with Tongi.

"See-saw,* see-saw, why it is enough to kill a fellow. I can't keep my eyes open. I would give a shilling to have an hour's sleep! *Yes*, of course, *you* say it is close at hand, *you black devil!*" "I know your *Kareb* means at least three hours more." "Give you the water-bottle? I can't. I don't dare to touch the rope of this long-necked brute. Hullo: there is some one come a cropper. Rifle, 'broken,' of course, it is, you cannot fall from a precipice without its being broken." "Hi! stop! Catch hold of the brute; the machufat, as you call it, is slipping round. Can't you

* Supposed remarks of British soldiers crossing the desert upon camels.

stop the brute (noise of a body falling); well, there is an end of it. I will walk *now* sooner than embark again on the ship of the desert. Am I hurt? Oh, no, of course not; rather enjoyed sensation. Walks half a mile, boots full of sand, and tries it again."—Scene in Desert: Explorations in Central Africa, by Her Majesty's Army.

The machufats* *will* slip forward, and camels *will* object to people riding *on* their long necks; they *will* drop vesuvians on camels, who will not like it; they *will* get galled, and have not glycerine; they will drop their pipes, and not dare to descend for them; they *will* pass baggage-camel with sharp edged boxes, which will rasp their legs; as they mount they will go over the other side and swear—oh how they will swear! all their Topies will be crushed—aches and pains in every part of the body (I should be inclined to put them on ambulance saddles, one on each side: awkward if they meet a baggage caravan). "Tired and ill! of course I am tired and ill after bowing and swaying my body to and fro all night, with my eyes pricking like as from so many needles, from desire to sleep; and you may say what you like, I swear I saw more than one of those skeleton camels get up, and I saw houses as plain as I see you.** I was between Scylla and Charybdis. I wanted to sleep, and I was afraid of falling off—shall never forget it."

"Chermside to Kitchener: Any news of *him?*"

"Kitchener to Chermside: Nothing particular; two or three more men down. Steamers at Metemma. Abuse as usual of Intelligence Department. Mahdi

* Saddles.—ED.

** Allusion to images produced on the retina by an excited or exhausted brain.—ED.

doing much better: *he* finds it more difficult to get his letters through, and will have time to get over *his* liver complaint and injustices. Stewart says it was a perfect pandemonium to be boxed up with him when in his tantrums. *I hope you are well. Let me know if I can do anything for you.*"

I think, in the interests of the Telegraph Department, Floyer ought to make officers pay for telegrams like this intercepted one.

A man came in from the Arabs on the South Front. He says the Arabs have imprisoned the regular troops with them; that the regulars want to make a rush for our lines and to escape to us.

A boy came in four days absent from the Mahdi's camp, which is at a place opposite Gitana. He says the Mahdi is moving along the left bank towards Omdurman, and that he has with him all the Europeans, Elias Pasha, and Slatin; that he will try and take the place before the advance of the English, who are said to be near Berber. Kordofan is quiet. The Mahdi has about three to four thousand with him. The Mahdi says he will cross the river dry-foot—by a miracle.

Sent for the *Ismailia* from Halfeyeh, replacing her by the *Towfikia*. The *Bordeen*, down the river, will go to the same place on her return. Somehow this advance of the Mahdi has raised my spirits; nothing is more dead-like to be shut up as we have been; now, at any rate, a month will see him victorious or defeated, as God may will it. I think he will try and negotiate, for, of course, Hussein Pasha Khalifa, has told him I had a Firman enabling me to give up the country if I found some one to take it.

"Kitchener to Chermside.—Hurrah! Capital news!

The Mahdi has *him* on the hip! he has gone to Omdurman. Bottled *him* up now! We will have no more impertinent remarks about the Intelligence Departments. Dongola illuminated! Regular feast of lanterns! Wish you were here, old fellow; hope you are well! Can I, &c., &c."

I declare Floyer ought to make them pay for these telegrams—intercepted and brought here.

. . . "Well after a long night comes the dawn, this is somewhat better news. I confess I was never much taken up with Livingstone's explorations, and I never would have believed any one, if he had told me I should be carrying out these explorations with a British army. One must not be ungrateful, but one may be permitted the remark why that Mahdi did not move before he has quite spoilt my holiday; why, dear me, in three months I shall be back in that bear-baiting garden again, being asked questions. What a life! What do you say? I am sacrificing myself for my country. Well, you are right there, I am a martyr, if ever there was one."

The mass of people who have come in from the Arabs, have spread far and wide,—what is to be expected from the Mahdi and his Government—so I have no fear for the town, which I suppose has 40,000 inhabitants in it.

The Arabs prevent all coming to me—I prevent none going to them—and I even give them written permissions to go; so I gauge the fidelity of the people.

Small steamer got her steam up to-day, and I hope will be finished in three days, armed and in action.

I feel sure that the Mahdi comes with the idea of negotiating; if so, and one can have reasonable hope

of success as to the extrication of the garrisons, I shall negotiate—for up to the present time, my original instructions are not abrogated, and I feel sure Her Majesty's Government will not wish any longer campaign, than is necessary, in these parts, for their honour, but it must be remembered *if*, by negotiating, I get out the garrisons at the cost of the steamers, &c., &c., I must not be blamed if in the future, by the cession of the steamers and warlike material, Egypt suffers. Her Majesty's Government gave me clear orders, *i.e.*, "get out garrisons and evacuate"—these orders have not been cancelled and are in force. No official notice is given me of an advance of troops or of a change of policy; therefore I am justified in acting on my original instructions. Kitchener's note is not sufficient to justify me in disobeying my regular instructions. Egerton's telegram was not decipherable.

October 10.—The beginning of the year 1302 of the Arabs is on the 21st October. On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd October were Hicks's defeats. The Mahdi, bringing all the Europeans with him, makes his move look as if he were confident of his success ultimately. All information tends to show that his object is to starve us out. If the man would only drop his prophet's functions, we might come to terms; but he will never do that, I fear. There is one good thing in the Mahdi's coming here—he will be easy of access, if our Government wishes to communicate with him; and also if he is defeated there is an end of him, without going to Kordofan. I suppose our people at Debbeh

must be aware of the whereabouts of the Mahdi at any rate.

It is an odd coincidence the advance of the Mahdi and of the expeditionary force at the same time, and to the same place (Armageddon).

I have 240 men at Omdurman, and it is pretty strong. It is not likely to be attacked; for if the Mahdi won it, he would not have gained Kartoum, though it would be a trouble, as it would discourage the people.

There is one bother, in any negotiations (which, however, I do not think possible), viz. how far one ought to go in *re* the steamers, and warlike store. If I had Zubair here it might be settled, but now the expedition is at Dongola it is a query what ought to be done.

I have lost seven guns, two on board each steamer, at Metemma, and one on board the *Abbas*.

This morning the Arabs fired six Krupp shells into the lines, which did not burst.

Not a large church parade either at Kalakla, South Front, or at Faki Mustapha, near Omdurman. Two men came in, one from south front with rifle, and one from Omdurman; the latter says the Mahdi will come to Omdurman either to-day or to-morrow, and will content himself with the investment of the place. He has with him all the Europeans, nuns and all. The Arabs meditate coming over to the old Dem, near Halfeyeh, but they say it will be the *Arabs of Waled a Goun* who will come, *not* those of the Sheikh el Obeyed; this is odd, and it would seem as if these two parties had fallen out. We know Sheikh el Obeyed did not agree with Abou Gugliz.

People do not appear a bit put out at the approach of the Mahdi; in fact they look on it as a good thing, for they say the affair will be ended here, and there will be no necessity to go to Kordofan.

A very little Arab boy, with large, black, limpid eyes, came in from the Arabs. He had been captured some months ago.

The steamer *Bordeen* is still down the river, robbing, I expect, right and left.

A Sandjak of Shaggyeh, who was for months a prisoner with Sheikh Ibrahim (son of Sheikh el Obeyed), told me how this latter used to quarrel with Abou Gugliz, how the latter had taken the gun they had captured from us; and how glad Sheikh Ibrahim was when we beat Abou Gugliz at Giraffe. On one occasion Abou Gugliz put Sheikh Ibrahim in chains.

Four of the Arab Krupp shells fell in the centre of the town—did no harm—(regular bombardment of Paris), moral effect, *nil*.

Little steamer *Husseinyeh* trial trip to-morrow. The Arabs will think one of the large steamers has been brought to bed.

One cannot help being amused at the Mahdi's carrying all the Europeans about with him—nuns, priests, Greeks, Austrian officers—what a medley, a regular Etat-major. It will be a great crow for Lord Wolseley if he manages to put an extinguisher on the Mahdi.

Cambyses, son of Cyrus of Isaiah, lost his army B.C. 525, in these deserts, 2409 years ago.

The Mussulman year 1302 begins on the anniversary of Trafalgar. "England *expects*" (does not say even "thank you") "you will do your duty."

Those who were ever quartered at Gibraltar will remember two despatches over the mantelpiece, Collingwood's on Trafalgar; Wellington on Waterloo. What a different tone in them. I cannot help thinking the navy is more chivalrous than the army in all nations; they are more seriously minded, having gone through greater vicissitudes of danger. I noticed flags around Faki Mustapha's tent, and three women came in this evening from Waled a Goun's camp, and reports that the Mahdi came to Omdurman to-day; but a soldier who escaped with his rifle came in afterwards and said the Mahdi had not yet come to Omdurman, but was expected to-morrow.

In five days' time I shall send down the *Towfikia* steamer to Metemma, and order the *Talataween* back. With the *Towfikia* I shall send this journal up to date. The *Towfikia* will stay at Metemma.

I have placed two of the castled santels at the end of the lines on the White Nile, the other two are at Bourré. The *Bordeen* steamer is back from Shoboloha; she captured fifteen cows and four slaves. She was fired on from the left bank of the Nile.

Armed the men of the band and made them body guard of Ferratch Pasha.

In future, for the defence of Kartoum, strong forts ought to be built at Shoboloha, on both sides of the defile.

The *Bordeen* telegraphed from Halfeyeh "important spy captured." I answered, "what did important spy say?" I was answered, "Important spy said that the English had sent out three men to see about roads to Kartoum." This was two and half hours' work to get this information. It is enough to drive

one wild (a very small *mouse* for such a *mountain*). Couriers were sent on horses to and fro for this information. I am going to sit on the captain of the *Bordeen* to-morrow. These people, if they have a grain of information which they (not I) think important, make a perfect Mont Blanc of it, so as to get promotion. What on earth of importance is it to us whether the British general has sent 150 spies to look after roads.

The captain of the *Bordeen* gave the names of the spies sent out by the British general obtained from this "important spy," thinking, of course, I should be delighted. These things render one perfectly furious, for, at least, twenty people were kept at work for absolutely nothing; and like a born idiot, there was I, on tiptoe of excitement, waiting information of the "important spy," to end with the news that "three men had been sent out by the British general." Had "this important spy" said the British general had started, it would have been another thing, but that is in the future, and I do not blame the British general for not rushing headlong into these deserts.

October 11.—A sergeant-major came in at Omdurman to-day, he left the Mahdi three days ago. The Mahdi was then one day's march from Omdurman, at the place Stewart met the chiefs when he went up the Nile in March. The Mahdi will be at the camp Faki Mustapha to-night or to-morrow. He has from 2000 to 3000 regulars with him, whom he captured here and there. Three Krupp guns and four mountain guns, but has a lot more mountain guns en route from Kordofan. With the Mahdi are Hussein Pasha Khalifa,

Saleh Pasha, Slatin, and all the Greeks, priests, and nuns, who have become Muslim. A priest and a nun who refused to become Muslim, he left in Obeyed. Nuchranza is with him. He has a mixed multitude with him, who are not over zealous, for he has discontented the people by his exactions. They have plenty of meat, but not much grain. The Frenchman spoken of (and supposed to be Renan by me) has gone away from the Mahdi. Fighting is going on in Kordofan in the Gebel Nubar. Report is rife of the English being at Debbeh. The Mahdi intends bombarding Kartoum from the other side, and trying to demolish the Fort Omdurman. The money captured at Berber has not yet left Berber.

Another soldier came in from Waled a Goun's camp; he says the regulars are all in chains.

The Arabs are making a fort 2000 yards off the south front. They fired eight rounds from a Krupp, which entered the town but did no harm.

Four shells entered the town yesterday—one slightly wounded five black sluts, one struck a house belonging to the family of the Mahdi.

Small steamer's trial trip took place to-day—a great success; she snorts terribly.

Two more soldiers came in this morning from the Sheikh el Obeyed. They say he intends coming to the old Dem off the north front, where they were before. They say he is not on the best of terms with Waled a Goun. I hope sincerely he will not come opposite to us.

Sent out two men separately to Debbeh, with notification of the arrival of his holiness the Mahdi at Omdurman.

Connected the Fort of Halfeyeh by telegraph to river bank, 1500 yards.

Moussa Bey put in charge of the *Bordeen* and *Ismailia*, and Omdurman and Mogrim.

Ferratch Pasha is made a Ferile (General of Division. I am more generous than Her Majesty's Government (when a colonel, I used to make Generals of Division. The Khedive used to tear his hair over it). It may be that Ferratch Pasha may be sold for $2^1/_4$$ in a fortnight, if the town is taken, and be carrying water for one of the Mahdi's Ameers. I must say I am against doctors. If a man is suffering intense pain, and is in a more or less desperate condition, I would give as much morphine as would still that pain. It was the custom of the ancients to give to those who were to be crucified a numbing potion, which is that mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 34, Mark. xv. 23. Our Lord would not abate, by mortal means, the slightest pang of His passion, and He would not taste it. But in our Lord's case He knew the object of giving Him this potion, whereas a patient need not know it. Our doctors give a composing draught to produce sleep, and I cannot see why they stop at that and do not give a draught to produce insensibility to pain—but I suppose they have rules we know not of. Napoleon at Jaffa asked the principal medical officer a question —whether, with respect to the plague patients (whom he could not take with him in his retreat to Egypt, and they would have had their throats cut had they stayed) it would not be justifiable to give them composing draughts. The principal medical officer answered, "his business was to cure, not to kill." Now Napoleon did not say "do so," but he merely asked

the question, inasmuch as it was certain that the throats of those patients would be cut by the Turks if they were left behind. History disputes whether Napoleon did not get another doctor to give the composing draughts, but it is certain that the plague-stricken patients were killed by the Turks (whether under the influence of composing draughts or not it does not much signify). To my mind the principal medical officer was a snob, and took advantage of Napoleon's question to make himself a hero. Napoleon alluded to it afterwards at St. Helena, and I am inclined to believe his version, viz. that he only put the alternative question to the principal medical officer, and did not order the giving of the composing draught. I shall now conclude this Volume III. I have sent 200 men to Omdurman, and am prepared to evacuate Halfeyeh and place its garrison at Goba, if the Sheikh el Obeyed moves to the north of this place.

C. G. GORDON.
12/10/84.

BOOK IV.

On outside wrapper (*a handkerchief*):

No secrets as far as I am concerned.

C. G. GORDON.

LT.-COLONEL STEWART, C.M.G.,
Chief of the Staff, or LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B.
Soudan Expeditionary Force.

JOURNAL OF EVENTS—KARTOUM, VOL. IV.
From 12th Oct. to 20th Oct., 1884.

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL.

EVENTS AT KARTOUM.

From 12th Oct. to 20th Oct., 1884.
To be pruned down if published.

C. G. GORDON.

The following note accompanied this Journal, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart:—

Kartoum, 20th October, 1884.

MY DEAR STEWART,

Here is the Journal up to date—not much in it. I hear you got down all right. Kind regards to Lord Wolseley. I have given up now all idea of getting information from you all.

Yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

On inside sheet:

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL, VOL. IV.
From 12th Oct. to 20th Oct., 1884.

EVENTS OF KARTOUM.

Together with a paper, Intelligence Department, on False Prophet.*
To be pruned down if published.

C. G. GORDON.

* See Appendix, "The Insurrection of the False Prophet."

JOURNAL.

October 12.—Post left for Metemma by *Towfikia* to-day. I am almost decided to evacuate Halfeyeh, and put Shaggyeh, now there, at Goba.* I dug up a shell yesterday which was at the foot of a lay figure at north side, and see that the reason of their (the shells) not proving fatal is that they are buried too deep, and their force is expended laterally—a man must be over them to be hurt. Of course this would be remedied in regular warfare. Were I to put them out again, I would lay the shells on the surface of the ground, hiding the fuses or ignitors, and run the risk of their being seen. Men going to assault a place do not pick their steps, as if they were crossing a street. I have ordered the concentration of guns on part of lines opposite to which Arabs bombard us. I have ordered silence for the two or three first rounds of the Arabs, and then to give them some salvoes.

What with these people's prayers, eating and sleeping, one's patience is indeed tried. I know no people in the world who can take advantage of cover better than them—the cover being *"I am ill;"* that is a

* Goba is on the right bank of the Blue Nile, to the north of Tuti Island, and within two miles of Kartoum.—ED.

settler; for although you know it is the illness of laziness, you can say nothing; if you doubt it, you are universally voted a brute.

When you say to any escaped soldier, "Why do you come here?" he replies, "Why, the Arabs give us nothing. Why, with you I can get this or that." It is merely a question of what they can *get*. The belly governs the whole world.

Have ordered the *Bordeen* steamer to creep up when the moon rises, and attack the Arab ferry at Kalakla.

Went over to Goba, and chose positions for the Shaggyeh tribe. If we evacuate Halfeyeh, we shall have to give up three outer forts, and one central one (Seyd Mahomet Osman's house).

It is quite a danger to pass through the yard of the Palace on account of the turkey-cock (though he has a harem of five); he killed two of his children the other day. I do not know if you have noticed it, but when not angry, or in full dress, the lobes of flesh about their necks are grey; but it does not need half a minute for them to make them of the most brilliant scarlet. I cannot understand how they make part of their heads blue, while the appendages are scarlet. I think the turkey-cock is a bird worth studying; the tuft in front is peculiar to him alone. I know no other bird which has it. I would give him the palm over all birds for pluck.

I have decided to bring those wretched Shaggyeh over to Goba, and have sent boats for them.*

I declare solemnly, that if it were not for the honour's sake of our nation, I would let these people

* See p. 189.

slide; they are of the very feeblest nature, and the Arabs are ten times better; but because they are weak, there is so much more the reason to try and help them; for I think it was because we were such worthless creatures, that Our Lord came to deliver us. These Shaggyeh know no shame. It is an unknown quantity with them. What a life one has to live. I wish I commanded the Arabs (speaking professionally). I think it is a great shame not giving me Zubair Pasha, for he would know how to deal with these people. They are the weariness of my life. From February until now they have been one continued worry to me, and I expect they worried the Arabs as much.

I have decided to put the Shaggyeh into the North Fort, and not to occupy Goba. A slave came in from Kerowé; had no news. The Arabs did not fire upon the lines to-day, so concentration of artillery fire on them did not come off. A woman came into the Lines from Waled a Goun with a letter.* *Towfikia* was to have left this morning; but late last night, happening to go to the telegraph office, and asking whether she was all ready, the captain replied he had no wood! so there was an end of her start to-day.

I particularly wish to ascertain how many communications were sent me from Cairo or elsewhere in Egypt between the 12th of March, when the telegraph wire was cut, and the present date.** I hope Stewart will get this information for me, and not be

* Appendix P.

** It would be interesting if some Member of Parliament would ask Her Majesty's Government for information on this subject.—ED.

hoodwinked about it. I should also much like the substance of those communications.

The letter* was from Abou Gugliz sending in a woman who had before been a spy. He begs me to become a Mussulman, &c. The woman who brought it, says the Mahdi comes to-night to Omdurman, and that he says, as soon as he comes, *I shall ask to surrender!* The Mahdi says he will write me three letters; he will then wait for five days, and that he will then advance across the river, which will divide for him. Looking at the date which will be arrived at, after these letters are written and the five days' grace have expired, and making allowances for what is meant by the dividing of the waters, it would bring the Mahdi's attack about the 21st October, the New Year's day of 1302 A.H.

We hear the Arabs are perplexed, because the other day, when they bombarded us, we did not answer. This was my doing to save ammunition. The Arabs asked the regulars with them, "why we did not answer?" and said they were sure the regulars were in communication with us. We are now weighing the pros and cons for not answering the artillery fire of the Arabs, which do us no harm and uses up their ammunition. By not doing so we do not lose the sympathies of the regulars, whereas if we do so we exasperate and render desperate those regulars. We had an instance of that at Bourré, where at first the regulars were well disposed towards us, and came over in numbers; whereas after we had killed a lot of them they ceased to come in, and used to fight us with viciousness.

* Appendix P.

The woman says, beyond the captured regulars, Arabs have no fighting force. These captured regulars are mostly all blacks.

Another *plot?* In town a man was discovered taking out a note couched in mysterious language, from one of the clerks in a Government office. With the note was £34, supposed to be a present to the Mahdi from Sheikh el Islam (the blind man) here. The efforts to square the circle are extraordinary. The people here, I expect, have all hedged. I am going to make a sort of general arrest to-night (similar to that made by Napoleon III. on the night of the 1st December) of all who are supposed to be in communication with the Mahdi. I shall not hurt them, but shall send them out to the Mahdi. (Query, was it on the night of the 1st and 2nd December Napoleon took his foes prisoners, or on the night of the 2nd–3rd December? I think it was the night of the 1st–2nd December, and the so-called massacre happened during the day of the 2nd December. Vide Kinglake in "Coup d'état.")

I shall not send out the Sheikh el Islam* although he is a disgrace. I asked Mahomet Edrees, my servant, "to become a Christian." He said "he could not." Then I said, "Why ask me to become a Mussulman, when your Sheikh el Islam is prepared to acknowledge Mahomet Achmet as the Mahdi?" 5 P.M.—The arrests are out. Sheikh el Islam, Cadi, and a host of swells are to be kept in their homes—sixteen in all! A good swoop; among them the Mudir Achmet Bey Jelaba. I have made Moussa Bey Mudir. There will be quite a

* *I.e.*, the priest.—ED.

scare about it. I have not sent any away to the Mahdi. The band boys are all armed, and are quite ferocious. It would be a great mistake to come up here and think to find soldiers *in extremis;* they are as cocky as possible. They strut along as if no one was their equal. The blacks are a stubborn race; and if one sticks to them, they will stick to you. *Towfikia* has left for Metemma *at last.*

A mouse has taken Stewart's place at table; she (judging from her swelled-out appearance) comes up and eats out of my plate without fear.

The turkey-cock has become so disagreeable that I had to put his head under his wing and sway him to and fro till he slept. The cavasses thought he was dead, but he got up and immediately went at me. The putting the head under the wing acts with all birds, but it is the *cock* alone who gets mesmerised by the chalk lines drawn in front of his beak. How do you account for this?

I believe that a good recruitment of blacks and Chinese would give England all the troops she wants for expeditions, mixed with one-sixth English. As for those wretched Sepoys, they are useless. I would garrison India with Chinese and blacks, with one-sixth English, and no army could stand against us. The Chinese in Shanghai had the greatest contempt for the Bombay Sepoys, and used to knock them about. Beloochees and Sikhs are a different class. I have the greatest contempt for the pure Indian Sepoys. Chinese, or blacks, or Goorkas, or Beloochees are far better. The moment he (the pure Sepoy) is off parade, he puts off all uniform that connects him with Her Majesty's Government, and puts on his dish-clout. I

hate these snake-like creatures. Any man accustomed to judge by faces sees that they hate us.

I would back the Mussulmans of India against the lot of those snakes. India, to me, is not an advantage; it accustoms our men to a style of life which they cannot keep up in England; it deteriorates our women. If we kept the sea-coast, it is all that we want. It is the centre of all petty intrigue, while if our energy were devoted elsewhere, it would produce tenfold. India sways all our policy to our detriment. Lord Cardwell replied (when I asked him the question as to the benefit we got from India), "*that we could not get out of it*," and I suppose that is the answer that must be given.

October 13.—Cavalry sortie this morning from Bourré; captured fifteen slaves and killed thirteen men who resisted. This sortie was under Abdoul Hamid, the Sandjak of the Shaggyeh. We lost none.

The Arabs on Omdurman side have spread out their huts in a semicircle (but at a considerable distance) around Omdurman, on the left bank.

Shaggyeh from Halfeyeh will be in the North Fort to-day. The Arabs off South Front, near the White Nile, fired musketry against the lines, but did no harm.

Last night cavalry Shaggyeh captured three men who were going off to Sheikh el Obeyed from Halfeyeh; they had their arms with them. I have let them go again.

No definite news yet of the arrival of the Mahdi at Omdurman. The Mahdi will be furious with this cavalry sortie; it will be disagreeable news to him on his arrival here.

A man from the Arabs has come in to Omdurman

with two letters;* it is too late to see them to-night. By telegraph I hear that the man brought two letters for the Commandant at Omdurman from Faki Mustapha, saying the Mahdi was coming the day after to-morrow, and inviting him to submit; so I have told them to send the man off again.

We are a wonderful people; it was never our Government which made us a great nation; our Government has been ever the drag on our wheels. It is, of course, on the cards that Kartoum is taken under the nose of the expeditionary force, which will be *just too late.***

The expeditionary force will perhaps think it necessary to retake it; but that will be of no use, and will cause loss of life uselessly on both sides. It had far better quietly return, with its tail between its legs; for once Kartoum is taken, it matters little if the Opposition say "You gave up Kartoum," or "You gave up Kartoum, Sennaar," &c., &c., the sun will have set, people will not care much for the satellites. England was made by adventurers, not by its Government, and I believe it will only hold its place by adventurers. If Kartoum falls, then go quietly back to Cairo, for you will only lose men and spend money uselessly in carrying on the campaign.***

* Appendix Q.

** Many of General Gordon's "instincts" have been no less remarkable than many of his escapes. In a telegram to Sir Evelyn Baring, dated March 1st, he said, "I will do my best to carry out my instructions, but feel convinced I shall be caught in Kartoum."

*** It is worth while to note how readily Her Majesty's Government, who had declined all General Gordon's suggestions while he lived, accepted this posthumous piece of advice.—ED.

October 14th.—I have been obliged to make some more arrests. Report in says many of the people, chiefs, &c., of Shendy come in to the three steamers now at Metemma; also that the steamers have been firing on the Arabs of Metemma; report says that expedition advance guard is at Abou Hamed, remainder at Merowé; that some English are coming from Kassala with Seyd Mahomet Osman to Gros Ragéb; that the Sakkeyer Arabs meditate a raid on Shoboloha tribes, who are favourable to Government. The Arabs fired on the lines this morning, doing no harm. Made Ferratch Ullah, who used to be at the Palace, a Miralli.*

In the two letters,** Faki Mustapha says the English are prisoners at Assouan, and that the Arabs had

* In his "Wild Tribes of the Soudan," Mr. F. L. James gives an account of how he and his party were treated by Ala-ed-Deen and the Bey at Senheit. This Bey was no other than Ferratch Pasha, who is said to have opened the gates of Kartoum. "We had engaged camels at Senheit," says Mr. James, "for some weeks' shooting in the vicinity. On our return, a steamer was leaving Massowah for Suez, which we could only catch by taking the same camels on to the coast. Our Shaggyeh drivers objected, saying the road to the sea was out of their country, and their camels were tired—perfectly valid excuses. We offered them half as much again as the proper fare, but they still demurred, fearing that the Governor of Massowa would take their camels, make them carry for the Government, and probably never pay them. On obtaining a letter for the Bey at Senheit (Ferratch), asking (as we fondly imagined) Ala-ed-Deen, who was at that time Governor of Massowah, to let them go free, they consented to accompany us. On our arrival we presented the letter, which, we found, merely stated that the garrison of Senheit was in want of salt, and that he had better load up the camels with some, and return them to him."—ED.

** Appendix Q.

captured *Abbas* with Stewart at Cataract Dar Djumna, below Abou Hamed, *which would be dismal!*

Arabs are keeping a long way off the lines since the cavalry sortie.

No sign of the arrival of the Mahdi at Omdurman. Very few horsemen to be seen on the South Front. Query, have they gone down towards Berber?

This evening, some twelve of those arrested and allowed to stay in their houses are to be taken to the barracks; I hate those arrests, but one can scarcely doubt so many informants, who declare there was "trahison" meditated, not from any wish to join Mahdi, but for fear I was not strong enough to hold the city, and owing to Awaan's statement, *that he had written the letters* I had received from Debbeh announcing that the expeditionary force was coming.

The North side is like a market, with the camels, horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, of the Shaggyehs, who have come up from Halfeyeh, &c.

I confess I am more perplexed about these arrests than I like; is it a good thing? or is it not? If I could be sure that the majority wished to go to the Mahdi, I could make up my mind at once what to do; it would be an immense relief to me, but does the mass wish it? If they do not, I ought to take all precautions against such an event. Then comes the query. Am I not, in these arrests, being made a tool of by the Turkish and Cairo elements? Are they not gratifying spites? Paul said, "*I have learned*" (as in a school) "*in whatsoever state I am to be content.*" I can only say, "*I am learning*," *but have* "*not learned.*"

No sign this evening in Faki Mustapha's camp of the arrival of the Mahdi.

Heavy thunderstorm and rain this evening, which will be made out by the proselytes of Mahomet Achmet as a proof of his divine pretensions. It is rather bad for our mines.

October 15*th*.—No spies in—everything quiet. Some begin to doubt if Mahdi is so near.

People say I must have some news of relief, otherwise I would not have made the arrest of Mudir, Cadi and Sheikh el Islam, &c., &c.

I see there was a total eclipse of the moon on 4th October, and there is a partial eclipse of the sun on the 18-19th October.

I reason thus respecting the arrests: if the people really want to go over to the Mahdi, it will make no difference beyond hastening the event; if they do not want to go to the Mahdi it will make no difference. If there is a minority to go to the Mahdi the arrests have upset their plans, at any rate for a time. To my idea, these people were only *hedging*, in order to be prepared for all contingencies.

Mahomed Pasha Hassan, who is a barometer of fear, approves of the step—so I hear in an indirect way:—*of course* every body approves of it, if *asked* by *me*, for fear of their own arrest.

I had to make three more arrests—when once one begins this detestable practice, one never can stop. As far as I can judge the mass of people approve of the arrests. I am now going on the principle "in for a penny, in for a pound." Wilfrid Blunt will make a nice row about this. It is very odd we have had no one in from the Arabs for two days. Glad to

say I found out one arrest not just, and have let the man out.

Jeremiah was arrested over and over again, and let out by King Zedekiah. I wonder how any man can possibly wish to enjoy despotic power: he can never be happy or comfortable if he has any pretensions to a conscience.

2 P.M.—Six flags appeared at Faki Mustapha's camp. Report in town says the Mahdi is at his Isle of Abba, 160 miles up White Nile, attending to the circumcision of his son (poor little fellow). I hope it is true, for it will give us ten days' respite. He may also have another dream there, which will tell him not to come to Kartoum, or he may persuade his followers to have one to same effect. What a comfort!!!

The Mahdi will make it an excuse that he came for this circumcision from Kordofan to Abba Island (where he received his first revelation that he was the *Mahdi*), if he sees things go against him.*

3 P.M.—The six flags at Faki Mustapha's camp have increased to ten (gathering of waters). We have just completed *our* concentration of forces, and the steamers have just come in from their last trip from Halfeyeh. We may now be said to be in fighting trim, close hauled. Small steamer *Husseinyeh* will be completed to-morrow, I hope.

6.30 P.M.—Horsemen riding to and fro in Faki Mustapha's camp. A letter has come in with two men from Slatin. Have received the letter, and send back

* The Mahdi declared that the Archangel Gabriel had twice appeared to him and commanded him to unsheath the sword of faith in order to reform the bad Moslem and to found a Mussulman Empire which would be followed by universal peace.—ED.

the men who brought it, at once. "You must remember," says England, "that when you entered my service, I bought you, as far as your body was concerned, giving you at first 5*s.* 3*d.* per diem, when no one else would have given you 1*s.*, giving you also a beautiful plumage and the *entrée partout.* You have advanced now to higher pay, but on *same terms* (your whole life and body). You can never say you have done *more* than your duty. If you do not do it you break your word, and if you do it you merely fulfil your contract, and have no *claim* on me."

The two men who came in with the letter of Slatin were one Arab and one slave. The latter questioned (apart) says that the report is *that the Mahdi will come in two days to Omdurman; that he has not been seen; that the regular soldiers have gone back to Kordofan; and that Faki Mustapha told him* (the slave) *to frighten the Kartoumers.* I am hoping the Mahdi will prove a *bogie!*

Steamers *Bordeen* and *Ismailia* went down below Kerowé to-day, and saw no Arabs on the left bank of the Nile.

The quietude of Sheikh el Obeyed's forces is curious, for they have twice beaten us, *with heavy loss,* though they have been beaten by us, with loss, at other times, but in minor engagements.

I begin to get over my disquietude *in re* the arrests; from what I hear, I think public opinion is not dissatisfied; but really it was a strong measure to arrest Sheikh el Islam, Cadi and Mudir, and sixteen others, and that without turning the two former out of their employ.

A lot of people were pressing for harder measures,

but my new chief clerk said "we would wish to leave it to you to do or not to do," which is lively, as I am innocent of what goes on, or who is a traitor, or who is not; if ever there was a happy-go-lucky government, it is this, in Kartoum. I declare that, sometimes, I give a decision, and have no more idea of what the decision is about than a cow; these, however, are exceptional cases. I have had about six bad slips in ten years, not more, and these I have managed to rectify, with loss of prestige. Slatin is *not* with Faki Mustapha, so says the slave. What liars these spies are!

If in two days I find the news correct that the Mahdi is still in Kordofan, I shall let out all the political prisoners (which will shock the townspeople), but will be true joy and delight to me, for it has been a work utterly repugnant to me. I like free will (we left God with *our own free will*, we must return with our *own free will*). I hate a forced subjection, and I feel sure that to let these people out, with free will to go to the Arabs or not, will be good policy. I must say that I feel it a great compliment, when my counsellors say to *me*, "*Do what you think right, irrespective of our advice*," *when they know I am ignorant of all that goes on, ignorant of the Arabic language, except in my style, ignorant of the Arab customs, &c., &c.* "*You will do better than we do*," is what they say, and *I, poor Devil, do not know where to turn.* Oh! our Government, our Government! what has it not to answer for? Not to *me*, but to these poor people. I declare if I thought the town wished the Mahdi, I would give it up: so much do I respect free will.*

* The action of Her Majesty's Government had now raised the question in General Gordon's mind as to whether he was justi-

October 16.—The letters of Slatin have arrived.* I have no remarks to make on them, and cannot make out why he wrote them.

Heavy rain last night, I expect there is an end to the vitality of our mines, and we have now no more matches to renew them.

No spies in, no Arabs visible outside their camp: it is pretty certain that the Mahdi has not come to Omdurman.

The Austrian Consul** has asked me to let him write to Slatin, and to allow him to give him (Slatin), an interview on the Lines, which I have agreed to and sent out. Slatin's letter to Hansall was quite in a different tone to the one he wrote to me. What astounding lies those spies have told about the Mahdi and his heterogeneous staff being close here.

Noon.—Two spies came in, one from Sheikh el Obeyed, one from Kordofan. The latter says the Mahdi is not coming to Kartoum, but has been recalled to Obeyed on account of the advance of expeditionary force; that the Mahdi has withdrawn all the regulars captured here and there from our vicinity to Kordofan; that a lot of the Arabs he forced to come with him have deserted him. That is about all; one feels disinclined to write these histories, which are contradicted a few days afterwards. Certainly the Arabs are very quiet, and one does not see many about. I hope to be able to let out the prisoners on

fied in punishing any of the inhabitants of Kartoum who were *hedging* with the Mahdi. He was almost disposed to let them *hedge* if it gave them a better chance of their lives.—ED.

* Appendix R.

** Hansall.—ED.

New Year's Day of Arab year 1302, which is on 21st October. I shall make Ferratch Pasha do the honours of the day, I cannot stand these pageants. A woman came in from the Dem on the South Lines; she says a few days ago there was a regular panic caused by report of troops having captured Katarif; half the Arabs went southward. However the report was contradicted and they have come back.

Slatin's letter to Austrian Consul contains the remark "that if he comes over to me I must promise never to surrender the city, *as he would then suffer terrible tortures and death.*" He evidently is not a Spartan, he also says "that he changed his religion because he had not had much attention paid to his religious belief when young." If he gets away I shall take him to the Congo with me, he will want some *quarantine;* one feels sorry for him.

Slatin says there is a rumour that a boat of Stewart's expedition, down Nile, was captured by Arabs at the cataract Dar Djumna, below Abou Hamed, but he doubts its truth; this, in his letter to the consul.

The Arabs have not occupied Halfeyeh. The Shaggyeh are pulling down Goba and Hogali, the village opposite the Palace. The village of Omdurman is levelled. The little steamer *Husseinyeh* is finished and armed, and will go up against the Arabs (her virgin trip), on Saturday morning. They have put a little lion as figure-head to it.

Fancy post-office officials (of all people), who have done literally nothing for seven months (not being *able* to do anything), asking for increase of pay!! These people have no conscience. There were very few

Arabs to be seen on south front this day, and few were seen going to Giraffe. At Faki Mustapha there also seems no numbers, in spite of the great array of grass huts erected for the Mahdi. Report in town says that the Arabs in Kordofan say the Mahdi is all fudge, and that they are robbed more now under his name than before, when they were under the Government.

Report says the Mahdi sent Sheikh el Obeyed (the *man* not the *city*) to tell him to come to Obeyed (the *city* not the *man*), and devotes himself to God's service as a dervish. The Sheikh el Obeyed (the *man* not the *city*)* does not see it, for he is very rich (I know it is a horrid nuisance these names, but I did not give them). It would be a charity to execute the *man*, for those who are perplexed, and end the difficulty. We cannot execute the city.

October 17.—Church parade at minimum: that at Faki Mustapha's Dem some 400: that at south front not more than a 1000.

Mr. Gladstone has a rival up here in shirt collars: Mohamed Bey Ibrahim appeared to-day with regular wings rather ragged, his collars up to his ears, regular orthodox patterns.

I am sending *Bordeen* and *Husseinyeh* up the White Nile to reconnoitre, and the horsemen out towards Giraffe and Halfeyeh.

I shall have nothing to do with Slatin's coming in here to stay, unless he has the Mahdi's positive leave, which he is not likely to get: his doing so would be

* These distinctions are in satirical allusion to some mistake made at the Foreign Office.—Ed.

the breaking of his parole, which should be as sacred when given to the Mahdi as to any other power, and it would jeopardise the safety of all those Europeans, prisoners with Mahdi.*

According to all accounts, the cataract at Dar Djumna below Abou Hamed is a very small one, so I am in hopes it is a false rumour that we have lost the boat. A slave came from Faki Mustapha, saying the Mahdi is at Jura Hadra, his people suffering from sickness: many have gone back to Kordofan. All regulars have gone back, they have little grain, and people are discontented. This man brought his rifle in with him; 219 days to-day we have been boxed up; four of the principal men were allowed to be prisoners in their houses, one of these allowed a man to come to him and bribe the sentry with two dollars: this man was whipped off to the prison at once. The Sheikh el Islam let two women come to him, he was only threatened. We caught a man going over to the Arabs to-day, he had under his ordinary costume the Dervish dress. If Zubair was here he would take off heads I feel sure. I content myself with fearful threats, which they know are nothing.

October 18.—The *cavalry* went out towards Giraffe, and captured five *female* slaves! and killed three Arabs, who resisted their being taken. I own I do not feel satisfied with the killing of these men, but I suppose it is *war:* we lost none. The captive ladies had little to say more than the Arabs had two guns at Giraffe.

* Appendix S.

Bordeen and *Husseinyeh* went up the White Nile, saw no Arabs at first, but coming back Arabs got down two guns and opened fire, they killed one man and wounded another. I had warned these steamers distinctly to keep in the middle of river, and not to go near the banks. The casualities were from musketry. Arabs fired fifteen rounds (gun), *Husseinyeh* fired ten rounds (gun), *Bordeen* fired ten rounds (gun). I have stopped these steamers going up the White Nile for the future. The officer is entirely responsible for the death of this man, for I had given orders that, *even* if they saw cattle or boats, they were not to be enticed to the banks to get them. I never will believe in ships against land batteries, unless troops are landed, for *unless* a steamer can get close alongside a battery, the battery will hold its own.

October 19.—This morning, in spite of my orders not to leave the lines, Bourré must needs send out men, and the consequence was that I have a Bimbashi and six men wounded, however I think I have stopped these excursions for the future. The *cavalry* went out from the North Fort to Halfeyeh, and saw no one, and captured a cow!

I hope it will be remembered that with respect to white troops (Fellaheen) on-board the now four steamers at Metemma, I make you a handsome present of them (officers and all), and request that if you use the steamers you will disembark those men and take them on your list, for we never wish to see them (and to have to feed them) up here again. *You will be carrying out the evacuation policy!!!* If you do not use the

steamers, please send them back *empty of these Fellaheen troops*, but send me *their rifles*. You will soon have a fine contingent! for I have everything ready for a *general discharge of Cairo débris* (Bashi Bazouks, &c., &c.), the moment I hear you are really at Berber; I shall not wait to ask your leave, for I have had enough of the débris up here, and you can feed them better than we can; *at any rate, they will be off my hands*, and *on yours*. I hope it will be an understood thing that *every Egyptian soldier* you find *belongs to you*, and that you will not send him back to me. I nobly present you *with them all*, and then, besides that, you have the glory of living representatives of your rescuing expedition. I object and protest against (when once Egyptian soldiers come into your lines) your returning them to Kartoum. As for their pay, &c., as far as I have been able to order, it ought to be quite clear what is owed them. I have given orders enough about that subject, as Stewart knows. I include *officers* as *well as men*. I want to see them no more. *Pray attend to this request!**

The *Talataween* came in this evening from Shendy; reports Seyd Mahomet Osman has come to Gros Rageb with English troops. English troops are coming from Debbeh by Nile, and have passed Abou Hamed. Arabs captured two boats of Stewart's expedition, by means of the captured steamer *Fascher* above Abou Hamed, which our steamers had seen getting up steam: *vide*

* There is a good-natured, and half playful ring about these orders, but the fact must not be overlooked that they are distinct commands. General Gordon, while Governor-General of the Soudan, had the right to issue orders to anyone in the Soudan, and no one was more cognizant of this right than he.—ED.

my journal. I had a feeling about this that when the steamers had seen the Arab steamer *Fascher* getting up steam they ought to have staid and tried to prevent the pursuit. The Arabs have a gun at Shendy, which came from Berber. The English troops are only two days distant from Berber. The steamers had twenty-five wounded, they collected eleven prisoners, and captured four boats. One of our men was killed. The *Towfikia* lost none on going down. I am sending down the *Bordeen* and *Talataween* the day after to-morrow to Shendy, with order to leave one steamer at Shendy, and go on with the other four to Berber, and to remain in its neighbourhood. The *Mansowrrah* will stay at Shendy, and the *Talataween*, *Bordeen*, *Saphia*, and *Towfikia* will go towards Berber. I shall keep *Ismailia* and *Husseinyeh* here.

STATEMENT OF TROOPS, ARMS, AMMUNITION, GRAIN, &c., IN KARTOUM, 19th OCTOBER, 1884.

	No. of Black Troops, Regulars . . .	2316
A	White	1421
B	Cairo Bashi Bazouks	1906
	Shaggyeh	2330
	Townspeople enrolled . . .	692
	Total . . .	8665

A and B will be sent to Berber as soon as it is possible to find Transport, and as soon as you get to Berber.

No. of Guns upon Lines	12
Steamers	11
Rounds Gun Ammunition . . .	21,141
„ Small Arms, Remington .	2,165,000
„ Arsenal turns out weekly .	40,000

Amount of Grain and Biscuit in Magazine.

Grain	Ardebs	4,018
Biscuit.	Okes	349,000
Weekly consumption of Troops	Ardebs	500

No. of Steamers	7
Private Boats	58
Government Boats	53
Money in Specie	£2900
Paper	£39,195

October 20th.—Here is a summary of reports brought by *Talataween*, which left Shendy four days ago. *Abbas* went down to Hagar Homar with her four boats. She was pursued by *Fascher*, which captured two of her boats, with twelve Greeks. The *Abbas* turned and fired two cannon shots at the *Fascher*, which retired, and the *Abbas* went on her way and was seen no more. She is supposed to have been attacked by Arabs below Abou Hamed and drove off attack, killing seventy-two Arabs, the Greeks captured in the two boats were not hurt by the Arabs. When the *Abbas* got to Debbeh the troops advanced towards Berber. Three distinct parties moving on Berber: *one* through the desert of Korosko (the Arabs have put 1500 men and a gun at Abou Hamed); *one* from Merowé to Berber across the desert (making forts at intervals), and *one* with Seyd Mahomet Osman down the Atbara valley towards El Damer (which place is at the junction of the Atbara with the Nile) assisted by Awad Kerim. The steamers have been bombarding Metemma and Shendy, I expect with no great effect.

To-day came in from Waled a Goun two men and

three women. They say the Mahdi is opposite Kalakla, *i.e.* within two miles of Kartoum, few people with him; those who came with him from Kordofan have, in great part, gone back.

In yesterday's skirmish the Arabs lost two men in the steamer fight, the day before they lost more. Waled a Goun has sent his family to Gitana; many are deserting.

An officer and sergeant have escaped and come into Omdurman.

They say that the Arabs of Berber were warned by someone in the town of the descent of the *Abbas*. I have ordered the sale of 200 ardebs of Dhoora on the strength of this news. A man, who was at Berber, on board one of the captured steamers says Ferratch Pasha! and other officers have sent news to the Arabs, and that the Arab chief of Berber wrote to Cassim el Mousse, proposing he should kill me, which Cassim el Mousse refused to do. This Mahomet el Khair is a true cur, for I have ever treated him well. I expect if the truth was known very few notables or officials have not been hedging with the Arabs.

The Shaggyeh on the opposite side are yelling, on enquiring find it is for Dhoora; they have had their month's rations and the month is not up. I went to the telegraph office and told them that "till the month was up I would give them none, but that the Sheikh el Obeyed had plenty, and that if they liked they could go to him;" no answer was given to this telegram.

The officer and sergeant who came in at Omdurman say the Mahdi with all Europeans, Hassan Khalifa,

Saleh Pasha, and *that* Frenchman are opposite Kalakla, and that he means coming to Omdurman, that the Arabs are not in good heart.

The *Saphia* and the *Mansowrrah* ought to have laid off Berber, and prevented the exit of the *Fascher* when the *Abbas* went down, but I expect they only cared to come back here. I am much put out at the loss of those two boats. What one has felt so much here is the want of men like Gessi, or Massodaglia, or Slatin; but I have had no one to whom I could entrust expeditions like that. *I do sincerely hope all Egyptians and Turks or Circassian officers and men may be taken out of the steamers and kept by you; it would be too bad to send them back to me.* I do not mean the *captains* or *engineers* of *steamers*. Twenty-two wounded men were brought to the hospital (four were gravely wounded) from Shendy steamer. I wish you to take command of steamers, but do not let any *Khedival authority* do so, *for he will certainly be bribed to let back the Egyptians*. Please acknowledge the receipt of the Journal, of which this is Vol. 4. As far as my experience goes, there are not more contemptible troops, officers, and men than the Egyptians, so beware of them, and, with scarcely an exception, all Turks and Circassians in Egyptian employ are emasculated.

I have prepared to clear out of the Palace, and have five houses ready for occupation. I hope Cuzzi's baggage will be searched, for I feel sure he is a traitor. A slave came in this evening from Waled a Goun with the usual story of the near approach of the Mahdi; that Arabs want food; that regulars mean to desert when they get an opportunity. With the reiterated

request that I may not have any *Egyptians, Turks, or Circassians sent back to me*, I end this Journal.

C. G. GORDON.
20/10/84.

The sunset to-night ends the year 1301, and begins 1302.

BOOK V.

On outside wrapper (handkerchief):

EVENTS AT KARTOUM.
20th Oct. to 5th Nov., 1884.
GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL, VOL. V.
The Chief of the Staff of Expeditionary Force for the Relief of the Garrisons.

No secrets as far as I am concerned.
C. G. GORDON.

On cover:

EVENTS AT KARTOUM.
20th Oct. to 5th Nov., 1884.
GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL, VOL. V.

To be pruned down if published.
C. G. GORDON.

On inside:

GENERAL GORDON'S JOURNAL,
From 20th October to 5th November, 1884.
EVENTS IN KARTOUM.
The Chief of Staff of Expeditionary Force for Relief of Garrison.
VOL. V.

To be pruned down if published.
C. G. GORDON.

JOURNAL.

October 21.—Steamers left this morning for Shendy. To-day is New Year's Day of the Arabs, 1302. I think the Mahdi speculated on a rising in the town, but that the arrests* have put him out in his calculations.

New Year's gift this morning, in arrival of Mahdi at Omdurman. Not much display. It is reported that he will occupy Kerowé and Halfeyeh at once; so it is as well I got the steamers off before he got his guns down to river bank. They will be safe with you,** and very useful.

Two men came in from Saleh Bey of Galabat with the post. They were thirty-two days *en route*. They brought a letter from Mitzakis, the Greek Consul, from *Adowa*, dated 17th August (which told me as much, or more, than Kitchener's letter of 31st August!).*** Saleh Bey is all right; he has been attacked. Spies say the small steamer *Mahomet Ali*, captured by the

* The arrests of the Mudir, Cadi, Sheikh el Islam, &c., who were supposed to be in communication with the Mahdi.—ED.

** *I.e.*, Chief of Expeditionary Force.—ED.

*** Appendix Q.

Arabs, is now on the Blue Nile, at Abou Haraz. Sennaar is all right.

Mitzakis writes to the Greek Consul here to say that a treaty has been made between Her Majesty's Government and Abyssinia, to give Abyssinia Kassala, Galabat, Katarif, and Bogos! and that the King is preparing an army to go and take possession.* What an action. These lands (except Bogos) are entirely Mussulman, have held their own, and are in no way threatened, and WE go and send a wild *so-called* Christian people (who have nothing to do with the quarrel) against these peoples, who have held their own against the Mahdi.

October 22.—I wonder what Saleh Bey of Galabat will say to this cession, after he has been fighting for me. Also what Seyd Mahomet Osman will say after all his trouble.

I can now see why I was kept in the dark.

In one of Saleh Bey's letters he says he sends me a letter from King John. This I have not got; it apparently was not sent.

A man came in with letter from Slatin, in which he says the *Abbas* was captured near Dar Djumna. Stewart killed, with nine men, and all the papers captured.**

Three soldiers escaped yesterday from the Arabs. Seven more came in to-day; they had no news. Mahdi and all Europeans are four hours distant. Mahdi has put Saleh Pasha (of Shaggyeh) in chains.

Twenty-six goats came kindly into lines to-day.

* Appendix Q. ** Appendix R.

I am very anxious about the *Abbas;* it would be terrible, if it is true, that she is captured.

The cut out pages are, or rather were, a tirade against the cession of Kassala,* &c., &c., but as they would be no use now I have cut them out.

I believe Government can, now-a-days, get men to do anything by means of money and honours (*not honour*), and I have a shrewd idea of how this affair will end up here. However, it is not my affair, and I have taken my decision.

Kitchener to Chermside. "He is furious about that admirable treaty of Hewitt's. Fortunate I did not tell him about it. He has the Mahdi alongside now, and can vent his spleen on him. We have got his steamers all but two, and need not care." **

Admirable treaty, let us think — yes, spread of Christianity, regular missionary movement, ancient Christian Church and people. . . .! get me up a *précis* of this history of Abyssinia, but not that part of Bruce which speaks of ravages committed by the Abyssinian army on the march. Hewitt, charmed with His Majesty, calls the Queen his mother, &c. Now, if we can *only get* that Mahdi to make a treaty we are safe for six months. Enough for the day is its evil. I declare I am becoming a missionary myself with my quotations and acts.

* Eight pages of the diary were cut out.—ED.

** General Gordon has just stated that a letter received from the Greek Consul, dated 17th of August, contained more news than one he received, dated 31st of August, from an officer in Her Majesty's service. He then goes on to say he sees now (*i.e.*, after reading the Greek Consul's letter) why he was kept in the dark. —ED.

Graham would be angry if I criticised his despatch, which Slatin sent me. The *Raumer* * seems an excellent weapon.

October 22.—It is suspected that the two men who came with letters from Saleh Bey of Galabat are spies of the Mahdi, into whose hands has fallen the letter King John wrote to me; these men came in a very circuitous way from the direction of the Mahdi's camp.

Another soldier and a slave came in from the Arabs just now.

King John and the Mahdi both force men to change their religion; both cut off lips of smokers and noses of *snuffers;* both are fanatics and robbers.**

If the Mahdi has got King John's letter to me, he knows all about the famous, or rather infamous, Hewitt Treaty, which is a trouble. Slatin's letter mentions

* Sir Gerald Graham's despatch.—ED.

** "King John issued an edict that if any of his subjects were found smoking they should lose hand and foot. General Gordon in his notes on Abyssinia in 1879, said: 'I write in haste, but I will sum up my impression of Abyssinia. The king is rapidly growing mad. He cuts off the noses of those who take snuff, and the lips of those who smoke. The king is hated more than Theodore was. Cruel to a degree, he does not, however, take life. He cuts off the feet and hands of people who offend him. He puts out their eyes by pouring hot tallow into their ears. No one can travel without the king's order if he is a foreigner. You can buy nothing without his order; no one will shelter you without his order—in fact no more complete despotism could exist.'

* * * * *

"The cruelties the king and his people committed were atrocious. Forty Soudan soldiers were mutilated altogether, and sent to Bogos with the message that, if His Highness the Khedive wanted eunuchs he could have these."—*Hill's Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, pp. 421-423.—ED.

the "Rapport Militaire"; it seems odd he should have known it was on board, unless the *Abbas* was captured; yet we have two men who declare she passed down. Perhaps the captured Greeks knew of the existence of this famous journal, and told the Arabs of it, or Awaan may have written it; it is odd he (Slatin) says nothing of Power and Herbin.

House of Lords . . . in answer to questions put by the . . . of . . . replied that the noble marquis seemed to take a special delight in asking questions which he knew he (. . .) could not answer. He could say he had given a deal of time and attention to the affairs of the Soudan, but he frankly acknowledged that the names of places and people were so mixed up, that it was impossible to get a true view of the case (a laugh). The noble marquis asked what the policy of Her Majesty's Government was? It was as if he asked the policy of a log floating down stream; it was going to the sea, as any one who had an ounce of brains could see. Well, that was the policy of it, only it was a decided policy, and a straightforward one to drift along and take advantage of every circumstance. His lordship deprecated the frequent questioning on subjects which, as his lordship had said, he knew nothing about, and further did not care to know anything about.

. . . to . . . Why, I did my best to keep the Hewitt Treaty secret from him. It is no use blaming me. I knew from his telegram he would make a noise about it, and I told Kitchener not to say a word about it. It is that brute Mitzakis who let the cat out of the bag.

A man came in from the Mahdi's camp, who left

this fourteen days ago with my permission to go to the Arabs. He now comes back to see his family in Kartoum. I have told him,—*once out, there is no return!* He is a cool fellow.

The Major wounded at Bourré the other day is dead.

The two men who brought letters from Saleh Bey of Galabat do not like going out on the North Front side; they want to go out by the West side, *i.e.* where the Mahdi's camp is.

I believe that the Hewitt Treaty will be a complete dead letter, for the Greek Consul says the Admiral gave him (King John) no money, so what was the use of the treaty. I expect King John wrote to me to ask me to give him the taxes of the country ceded, quoting the treaty of Hewitt. As for the King or his men ever leaving their hills, it is out of the question. He might have made a move had he been given £100,000, but no chance of his doing so when he has nothing but this paper treaty. The only place the King could possibly occupy is Senheit, and I doubt his doing that permanently. He will drive out the Roman Catholic Mission at once* (part of his missionary movement); the occupation of Senheit just cuts off the safe road from Massowah to Kassala. I declare it is amusing to see what shifts Her Majesty's Government have been put to get out of their mess.

A slave has come in to Omdurman with another letter from the Arabs. I shall stop this fun for the future.

* Mr. F. L. James in his "Wild Tribes of the Soudan," gives an excellent and interesting account of this mission station, p. 210, *seq.*

I feel sure King John gave Admiral Hewitt a spear and shield and the Order of Solomon—vanity of vanities—for the treaty, and I feel also sure we shall see no Abyssinian army in the Soudan. The King will write, or has written, a haughty letter, saying that his mother, the Queen, has given him, &c., &c., and he requests I will send in the taxes *at once*, otherwise he will advance. All T.,* and we shall hear no more of His Majesty except groans at my perfidy in not sending the taxes. He is a hopeless sort of man, and never is worth considering.** Her Majesty's Government will say: "We made the treaty; it is not our fault His Majesty did not carry it out, on paper; Kassala and all the other places are now under King John, and consequently quite safe." The treaty is worth as much as any treaty made now giving Kordofan to any one!***

We need now only a treaty with the Mahdi about the garrisons, and then Her Majesty's Government will sleep in peace: *their work is done.* I only say I will have no confidence in any such treaty, and shall take my precautions accordingly.†

Letters have come in: one says Lupton Bey has surrendered (Appendix U, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*), and has been appointed Governor of Bahr Gazelle with an adherent

* Twaddle.—ED.

** Ismail, the Ex-Khedive, who knew King John well, said to General Gordon, "Never go near him, it is perfectly useless."—ED.

*** Of course General Gordon's contention throughout is that giving Kassala, Katarif, Galabat and Bogos, to the King of Abyssinia, is in fact precisely the same thing as abandoning those places. —ED.

† Here a page has been cut out by General Gordon himself. —ED.

of the Mahdi. Another says that he has brought slaves to the Mahdi, and hopes to buy horses with the products of their sale.* The Mahdi's letter is to relate how he captured the post,** &c., *Abbas*, &c. My answer*** was, that I did not care who had surrendered and who had been captured. As for these letters, I cannot make head nor tail of them, so I leave them to the Arabic scholars of the Universities.

October 23.—(What a fearful scrawl!) Ten soldiers, with six women, came in this morning to Omdurman. I have sifted out the Mahdi's letter† respecting the capture of the *Abbas*, and do not believe it; the papers he sent me as being captured in the *Abbas* were never in the *Abbas*, they were taken from a spy I sent out from here, the same man who brought me the news from Dongola of the British advance. He had a bad eye (ophthalmia), and was caught at Metemma and killed, having, when drunk, let out that he had come from me.

The nuns had to walk all the way from Kordofan. The Mahdi has 15,000 head of cattle with him. The Arabs are dying in great numbers from dysentery. The village of Hogali opposite the palace is levelled. It may not be generally known, but by the Firman which named Towfik, there is an express injunction that no part of the Egyptian territory is to be ceded, except by permission of the Porte. Also by the Treaty of Paris, and also by that of Berlin, the integrity of the Ottoman Dominion is guaranteed by the Powers. What a farce it is to say Egypt ceded Kassala!

* Appendix U, *a*. ** Appendix U, *c*.
*** Appendix U, *b*. † Appendix U, *d*.

The escaped party, I mentioned as having come in, have arrived at the Palace, nine soldiers, eight women, and two slaves, all old friends, also a *baby!* They say the Mahdi started with 40,000 Arabs and 1500 Regulars from Kordofan, that he has not now more than 5000 or 6000 Arabs, and 1000 soldiers (500 ran away), that they have no Dhoora, only 35 boxes (35,000 rds.) Remington cartridges, and 50 shells; they say the other soldiers want to come in, either to-day or to-morrow. The Mahdi says he will go against the English and will not stop at Kartoum. The whole gang were shown themselves in the mirrors. Such a display of ivories was never seen. The baby danced with delight, at seeing itself, *for the first time*, it was like a black slug. The *mother* was, of course, delighted.

The Arab horsemen cut the telegraph which goes out of the lines at Bourré to the North Fort. I declined to allow its repair since I had lost a major and had six men wounded when last we went out of the lines, and besides which I had another cable to the north side. No sentries at the North Fort or Bourré, or on the Mudirat; these people are enough to break any one's heart. Fortunately, from the roof of the Palace one watches all these things, and can bully them into obeying orders, but it is (as Hansall says *) a *vie abrutissante*, to be always snarling and growling. The *Ismailia* and *Husseinyeh* went down the river, and saw no Arabs on either bank. If these Arabs (one's servants) are not *eating*, they are *saying* their *prayers;* if not *saying their prayers*, they are *sleeping;* if not

* The Austrian Consul.—ED.

sleeping, they are *sick*. One snatches at them at intervals. Now figure to yourself the position; you cannot do anything with them while in these fortresses *eating*, *saying prayers*, *sleeping*, or *sick*, and they know it. You would be a brute if you did (which I fear I often am). You want to send an immediate order, and there is your servant bobbing up and down, and you cannot disturb him. It is a beautiful country for trying experiments with your patience.

It is very curious, but if I am in a bad temper, which I fear is often the case, my servants will be always at their prayers, and thus religious practices follow the scale of my temper; they are pagans if all goes well.

I must say I hate our diplomatists. I think with few exceptions they are arrant humbugs, and I expect they know it. I include the Colvin class. The Rothschilds are, I feel assured, giving Her Majesty's Government a lot of bother about the Finance Question. If you had asked . . . at Balaklava the price of a cheese, he would have said £5 5*s*. If you asked him now you would offend him.

October 24.—Arab church parade. Mahomet Achmet and Faki Mustapha, few in number, at Waled a Goun, the Arabs have divided their camp, putting the regulars near the river, in camp apart from theirs, to act as buffers if any attack is made on them.

The Arabs have got a nuggar at Giraffe. A man of Zubair's old force has come in from the Arabs. To-morrow expires the six months for which the notes were issued. We have been boxed up 226 days (seven and a half months); siege of Troy.

The man who came in (Zubair's old soldier) was one of Lupton's men from the Bahr Gazelle; he left five months ago (Bahr Gazelle). He says Lupton is at Shaka, and is Sheikh Abdullah, so he has changed his religion.* I wonder what has become of the garrison of the Equator. Another man has come in.

All that bloodshed in fighting the slave dealers in the Bahr Gazelle has gone, apparently, for nothing!** There are great doubts if the Mahdi is really near, no one appears to have seen him.

Since the escape of the lot yesterday, the Arabs have taken the rifles of the regulars from them: at the Mahdi's camp, the Arabs have a ferry under our nose, across the White Nile; but I do not like to send up the steamers, for the captains are so heedless.

I calculated that the advance force of troops arrived at Wady Halfa on 22nd September,*** that they took twenty days from there to Debbeh, so that on 12th October they were at Debbeh (Stewart [*D.V.*] arrived at Debbeh on 28th September), and I calculate they could not be at Metemma—Shendy—before 10th November, which will give them twenty-nine days for 150 miles, thence it is five days here for a steamer,

* When a Christian becomes a Mahommedan he has to take a Mahommedan name.—ED.

** General Gordon is here evidently thinking of Gessi's glorious campaign against Suleiman.—ED.

*** The Black Watch started from Cairo for Wady Halfa on September 23rd. The Mounted Infantry reached Deel on September 24th, and 150 men under Daubeny got as far as Tangoor on the 26th. The first steam pinnace arrived at Sarras, which is about twenty miles above the second cataract, on September 26th. Lord Wolseley did not reach Wady Halfa until October 5th. —ED.

so that 15th November ought to see them or their advance guard.

Extracts from Appendix R.

La Route de Souakim à Berber.

Avant que la bataille de Tamai eut été livrée et gagnée, le Général Herbert Stewart, sinon les généraux Graham et Buller, avaient étudié avec soin la question de savoir si les troupes, ou une partie des troupes, pouvaient marcher jusqu'à Berber *pour aider Gordon à réprimer les partisans du Mahdi dans la région du Nil.* Cette proposition semblait alors si convenable que l'état des troupes les mieux adaptées à une semblable expédition, les dispositions pour les approvisionnements, l'équipement, les chevaux disponibles, etc., avaient été l'objet de l'étude journalière des officiers. On se souviendra qu'après Tamai, la cavalerie se transporta aux puits d'Handouk, à huit milles de Souakim. On croyait généralement, alors, que cette marche en avant n'était que la première étape d'un mouvement sur Berber d'une force montée. Pour empêcher toute souffrance provenant d'une disette d'eau, l'effectif ne devait pas être de plus de 500 hommes de cavalerie; aucune infanterie ne devait faire partie de l'expédition. Il était en outre entendu, qu'en cas de nécessité, un semblable effectif pourrait suivre un jour ou deux après et trouverait également, dans les puits, de l'eau en abondance. Le fait est que les généraux Graham, Buller, Stewart, les colonels Clery, Taylor, et d'autres, semblaient ne pas mettre en doute, si l'ordre en était donné, qu'une succession de détachements, forts chacun de 500 hommes, pourrait être rapidement poussée sur Berber. Le bruit de ce qui se passait parvint rapidement aux oreilles de nos hommes qui étaient à la Zariba d'Handouk, et la plupart des troupiers manifestèrent un désir intense de prendre part à l'expédition. On savait que le Général Stewart avait soumis ses plans pour la marche en avant au Général Graham, et que ce dernier,

ainsi que l'Amiral Hewett, les avait recommandés au gouvernement. *Les jours se succédèrent, mais l'ordre du départ n'arrivait pas: quelque empressés de partir que fussent beaucoup d'hommes, si nous avions connu alors la position exacte de Gordon, on eût manifesté beaucoup plus d'anxiété pour l'ordre du départ.* Lorsque cette question était discutée, question qui au moment occupait pleinement nos pensées, entre officiers supérieurs, ils exprimaient l'étonnement que l'ordre fut tant retardé, et que le Gouvernement hésitât davantage. *On n'arrivait qu'à une seule conclusion, c'était que la position du Général Gordon était telle qu'il n'avait pas besoin d'aide de troupes britanniques venant de Souakim.* Quoi qu'en ait pu penser, après réflexion, le Général Graham, de la possibilité d'envoyer une troupe de cavalerie forte de 500 hommes, en mars dernier, de Souakim à Berber, je suis certain que lui et la plupart des officiers sous ses ordres croyaient alors que c'était une chose sage et guerrière à entreprendre. Nous nous apercevons tous trop tard, que cette simple expédition eût sauvé Berber, Khartoum et Gordon au vrai cœur.

If they do not come before 30th November the game is up, and Rule Britannia. In this calculation I have given every latitude for difficulties of transport, making forts, &c., and on the 15th November I ought to see Her Majesty's uniform. I suppose a part of the force will go to attack Berber on the 10th November (when I calculate they will be at Metemma —Shendy), and that a small party will come on here; so we have now 7 days in October and 15 days in November to wait = 22 days—three weeks to add to the 226 days we have already passed, owing to Baring (who I shall remember) and his peace manœuvres. One of the papers Slatin sent to me, says that Graham was willing to send men to Berber, and could have

done it; but Evelyn would not give the order. I asked only for 200 men to be sent there (vide my telegram in Stewart's Journal). I take Slatin's paper out of Appendix R, and put it on the other side.* I do not know the date, but I declare that, if my telegrams to Baring are made known, it will be proved Baring knew up to the 12th March the exact position of affairs up here; and therefore, if there was an impression abroad that I did not say, "Send troops (200) to Berber,** or you will lose it," he must have suppressed my telegrams.

I dwell on the joy of never seeing Great Britain again, with its horrid, wearisome *dinner* parties and miseries. How we can put up with those things passes my imagination! It is a perfect bondage. At those dinner parties we are all in masks, saying what we do not believe, eating and drinking things we do not want, and then abusing one another. I would sooner live like a Dervish with the Mahdi, than go out to dinner every

* The paper referred to is the French extract just given.—ED.

** *Sir E. Baring to Earl Granville* (*received March 5th*).

"General Gordon has on several occasions pressed for 200 British troops to be sent to Wady Halfa. I agree with the military authorities in thinking that it would not be desirable to comply with this request."

Sir Evelyn Baring to Earl Granville (*received March 4th*).

"General Gordon and Colonel Stewart strongly urge the desirability, from the point of view of the success of their present mission, of opening up the Berber-Suakin route. . . . I cannot agree with the proposal mentioned in Colonel Stewart's telegram, that a force of British or Indian cavalry should be sent through for Suakin to Berber."—*Egypt No.* 12 (1884). *No.* 205.—ED.

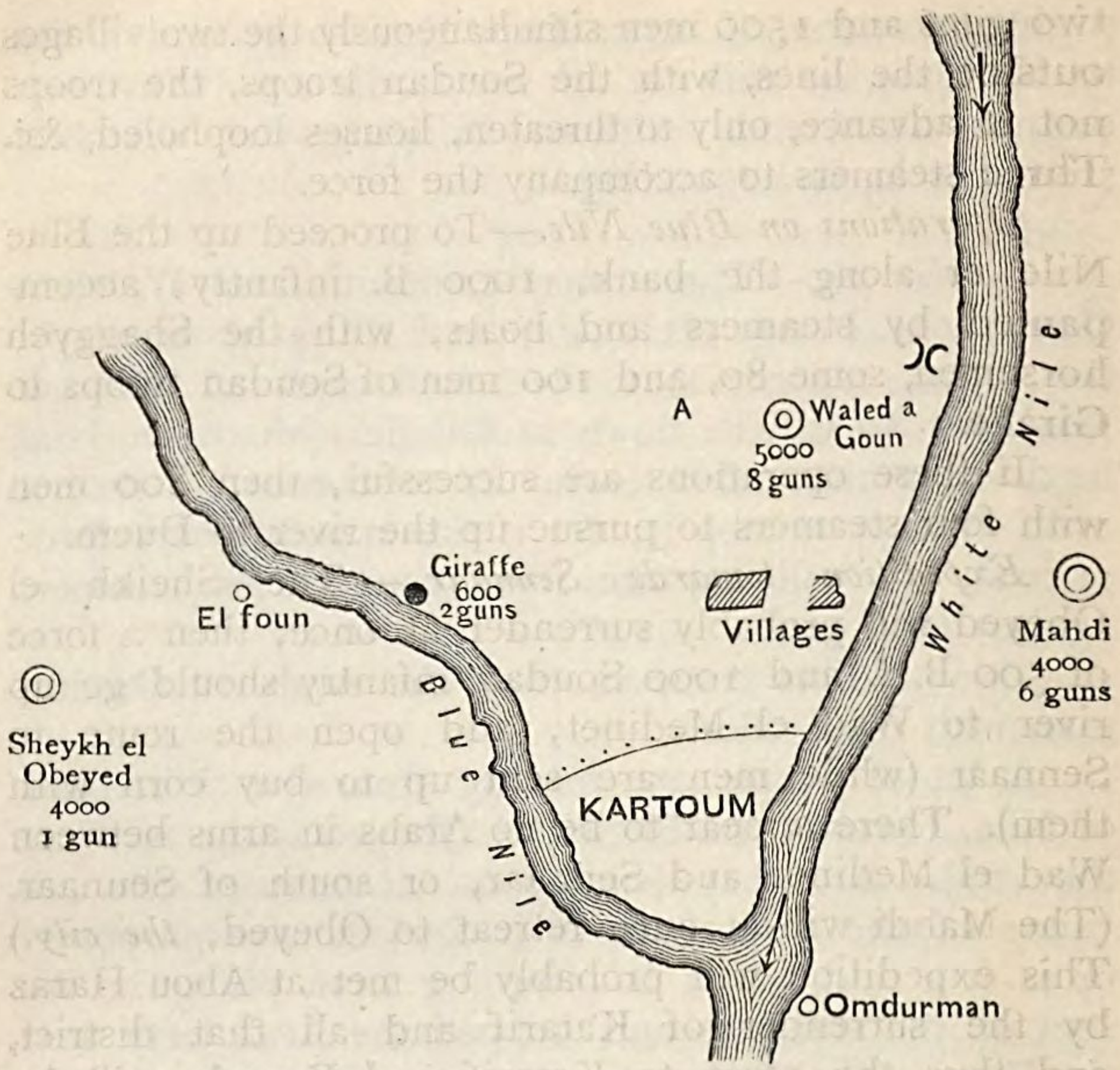
night in London. I hope, if any English general comes to Kartoum, he will not ask me to dinner. Why men cannot be friends without bringing the wretched stomachs in, is astounding.

October 25.—Three men came in from Waled a Goun; one I sent out again, as I think he is a spy, the other reports that the small-captured steamer *Mahomet Ali* will be down at Giraffe with twelve boat loads of grain, either to-day or to-morrow. I do not even attempt to stop it; for if the expeditionary force arrives, we will capture it; I cannot risk steamers against land guns.

Two soldiers came in from the Arabs at Omdurman with their rifles.

A lot of people are moving from the right bank of Nile, towards the Sheikh el Obeyed's (the *man* not the *city*). Are they leaving on account of the advance of the troops? or is it for offensive purposes? or is it a raid which is returning from pillage? We sent up the steamers and stopped the Arab ferry near the lines. The Arabs are retaliating by putting a gun or two in the old place near the large tree (el Sheddarah). The Arabs fired four shells at the steamers. Soldiers at Omdurman captured two cows, and killed two others. Another slave came in at Omdurman. Yesterday some cows were captured near the South Lines.

What would be the best plan of attacking the Arabs? The object is to give them such a crushing defeat as will put an end to the fighting, and prevent them rallying on Kordofan. The position is thus:—



1. I would attack Waled a Goun at A, and I would cut off his retreat by the sending up steamers to Duem with a small force; the Mahdi's force and Sheikh el Obeyed's force would look on.

2. At the same time I would attack the post at Giraffe. Both operations on the same day with the following troops.

Operations on White Nile.—To proceed up the White Nile by boats, 2000 B. infantry to point X. To proceed along the White Nile, right bank, the cavalry you may have to point X. To occupy with

two guns and 1500 men simultaneously the two villages outside the lines, with the Soudan troops, the troops not to advance, only to threaten, houses loopholed, &c. Three steamers to accompany the force.

Operations on Blue Nile.—To proceed up the Blue Nile or along the bank, 1000 B. infantry, accompanied by steamers and boats, with the Shaggyeh horsemen, some 80, and 100 men of Soudan troops to Giraffe.

If these operations are successful, then 800 men with four steamers to pursue up the river to Duem.

Expedition towards Sennaar.—The Sheikh el Obeyed will probably surrender at once, then a force of 500 B. I. and 1000 Soudan infantry should go up river to Wad el Medinet, and open the route to Sennaar (while men are sent up to buy corn with them). There appear to be no Arabs in arms between Wad el Medinet and Sennaar, or south of Sennaar. (The Mahdi will at once retreat to Obeyed, *the city*.) This expedition will probably be met at Abou Haraz by the surrender of Katarif and all that district, and thus the route to Katarif and Kassala will be opened.

These operations will entail the very smallest amount of marching on the troops, and would be completed in three weeks or less.

It must be remembered that in all these engagements in the Soudan no quarter on either side has been given, so it must not be expected that the Soudan troops will give it now if you come; also with respect to the wounded Arabs, if you go and help them, they will (like the Afghans) try and kill your men who make the effort; they are very treacherous,

and, worked up by religious frenzy, they think—1. That you only pretend to help them, in order to kill them afterwards; 2. That, being desperate, they think to enter Paradise if they kill an infidel. It seems rather cold-blooded to write this, but it is the character of those whom you are to fight. For my part, I hope they will all run away, for they are only dupes ninety-nine out of every hundred; it is the leaders who are the prime movers. I would give the lives to the leaders if they ask pardon; but I would send them all to Mecca to study Mahdism under the Orthodox. No information as yet as to the meaning of the caravan, &c., which left the Nile to go towards the Sheikh el Obeyed. One of our boats, which was collecting grass down below Halfeyeh, must needs land its crew and try and take some cattle of the caravan. The Arabs turned on them, and killed the Reis. Crew says they killed a lot of Arabs (?). I think these people do really love fighting, if there is the least chance of plunder.

King John (according to the Greek consul) is to be allowed to import arms at Massowah. He will never do it, for he has not money to buy them.

If the Mahdi has got the Bahr Gazelle, and we evacuate the Soudan in his favour, the Anti-Slavery Society may as well close their office as to the suppression of the slave-trade in these parts, especially if we leave him the steamers.*

Special Commission, House of Lords. . . . under examination, Q. 2389. Did your Lordship know,

* Gordon's intention and desire was to have taken the steamers to the Bahr Gazelle, and to have protected that country against the Mahdi.—ED.

when in Cairo, that the Fellaheen were being dragged in chains, from their houses, to go and fight the Mahdi, under Hicks, and what steps did you take to prevent it?* Did you inform Her Majesty's Government of the facts, and what was their answer?

The Mahdi has moved his ferry higher up river since our steamers went up this morning.

It is a great question of doubt to me, if Public Officials ought to so sink their personality, as to allow themselves to overlook facts, which must strike them, as being not only evil, but also detrimental to our national interests, merely because such facts are likely to be disagreeable to our Government in requiring them to decide on difficult questions. . . . did know of this forced conscription, and so did . . . Did they not see that, to allow such conscripts to go up to the Soudan, was not only cruel, but also politically unwise, for it could not be expected that they would have any heart in the matter? If they had stopped it, Hicks would have never left Kartoum, and his army would not have been annihilated; for it is the defeat of Hicks which gave the Mahdi his great prestige. He had annihilated detachments *before that: after that* he had crushed a huge army. See what it has led to! There are times when men like . . . ought to obey, and there are times when they ought to disobey or else resign. Now, if . . . had only hinted his resignation, the Governments were so placed as to be obliged to listen to him. I have a strong suspicion . . . did know how to act. It was . . . and

* The fact that the Fellaheen were dragged in chains from their huts, and kept in chains in the streets of Cairo, is well known.—ED.

a wish to be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government which prevented him acting according to his own ideas. Sometimes it is the height of unkindness to be too kind and amiable, and this is one of those cases. History may be misty about it (will not know the thimble the pea is under, for the cards are well shuffled), but there is no doubt that . . . had the destinies of Egypt and of the Soudan in his hands, *far more than Her Majesty's Government*, and he did not succeed. His amiability did for him. It is *not insubordinate* to resign, if you do not agree to a policy, or feel you cannot carry it out with a whole heart. In military affairs it is different; one is ordered to go here and there, and one obeys (even if one thinks it is unwise, having represented it), but in Diplomacy there is no such call, and certainly there was none in the case of . . . who is only an amateur in the Foreign Office Service, an outsider. Had . . . when he came to Egypt cut down the rate of interest by a swoop of his pen to $3^1/_2$ per cent., who would have said a word; but now it is the difficulty. There would have been a fearful howl from the bondholders, but that would have been all. He dismissed the Control (under the *cover* of Towfik), and could have reduced the interest, and he would have gained the sympathy of all the people. Hicks (who, by the way, never wanted to go to the Soudan) would have held his own at Kartoum, and have worn out the Mahdi, and we would have had none of this late work. I am afraid to say what numbers have been killed through this present policy, certainly some 80,000; and it is not yet over. For my part, I hope they will all run away. We have in a most effectual way

restored the slave-trade and slave-hunting, for Her Majesty's Government cannot keep the Soudan, and never will Egypt be able to govern it. The only thing to be done, is to give it to the Sultan. What an end to diplomacy of Her Majesty's Government: and it was so easy when I left in January, 1880, to have settled it quietly, *giving up Kordofan*, *Darfur*, and *Bahr Gazelle*, and *Equator*, with decency and quiet.

I declare I do not see how we will get out of it (the Soudan) even now; allow that you come to Kartoum, that you drive off the Arabs, open the road to Sennaar. What are you going to do? You will say, "Take out those who wish to leave." Well, you begin with Sennaar, and of course will have to fight all the way down. It will take three months. During those three months, how are you to feed Kartoum? for the moment you leave Sennaar you leave your granary. You get to Kartoum, you are face to face with 30,000 people who will not leave, and who are hedging with the Mahdi; and with 3000 Shaggyeh, all armed. You fight your way to Berber; another three months, you have no food at Berber; then it will need another two months to get to Dongola, which (seeing your policy) will be hostile. It is indeed a terrible problem, and I wish I could see my way out of it.

Then you come into the hot months, and low Nile. This time *next year* will not see you out of the Soudan, with decency. Of course you can go back now, but what was the use of coming? *I will not allow that you came for* ME. *You came for the garrisons of the Soudan.* Now, by the Turkish arrangement, if you act promptly, you can get away quietly in January, 1885. It will not cost anything like what it will cost

you to keep your troops here for a year, as I fear you must do if you persevere in trying a "*rapid retreat.*"

I can have no object in this advice. I want to get out of the affair, but with decency. I regret the necessity of an expedition, but if once you come to Berber, and communicate with Kartoum, if you stick to the "*rapid retreat*," you will not be able to accomplish it, and you are in for a year's stay. While, on the other hand, the giving of country to Turks enables you to get away with credit. Let Her Majesty's Government *find excuses* for it, it will not be difficult for *them.* Put yourself in my position if you say "*rapid retreat, and leave Sennaar to its fate.*" I will say "*No, I would sooner die first,*" and will resign my commission, for I could not do it. If you say, "*Then you are no longer* Governor-General," then I am all right, and all the responsibility is on you (for I could not be supposed, if you turn me out of Governor-General, to be obliged to aid such a movement, which I think is disgraceful). You will then be face to face with the people. I do not say but that Abdel Kader might not aid in the "*rapid retreat*" better than I could, even if I agreed to it (of this you can judge for yourself, at any rate I shall be out of it, and of my engagement to the people).

It may be that all this writing is unnecessary, and that you have other views, but it is as well you know my opinions. *I am secure against any loss, by the King of the Belgians, if I leave H.M.S., therefore I am, so to say, free of H.M.S. If you turn me out of Governor-General I am relieved from all responsibility, as to your action in Soudan, towards the people.* I do not think I am insubordinate in this matter, nor un-

reasonable. I do not say I would not give *all my services in a subordinate position* to aid you, but it would be against my grain and be very distasteful, and must NOT be in POSITION of GOVERNOR-GENERAL, that must be a *sine quâ non*, and it must be known that I disapprove of the "*rapid retreat.*"* I would not say this if I was not convinced that the "*rapid retreat*" is an operation of such difficulty as to make every Englishman akin, and bound to aid one another. If I was Lord Wolseley *I would make* Her Majesty's Government send the Turks here.

I do not advocate the keeping of the Soudan by us, it is a useless possession, and we could not govern it, neither can Egypt (after the late events). I am only discussing how *to get out of it* in *honour and in the cheapest way* (we must remember we caused its troubles), and that way is, either by some sort of provisional Government under Zubair, or by giving it to the Turks; it is simply a question of GETTING OUT OF IT with decency. Zubair would square the Shaggyeh and townspeople and arrange with the Mahdi, and you could get away. He might hold his own if you gave the Mahdi a good defeat ere you left; at any

* General Gordon intends H.M. Government to understand by this statement, that, in the position of a Major-General in H.M. service, he would give all his services to the retreating expedition, were he ordered to do so, though such an order would be most unwelcome; but that he would do nothing of the kind until some one replaced him as Governor-General. He is really applying to himself the remarks he made a few pages back: "In military affairs it is different: one is ordered to go here and there, and one obeys (even if one thinks it unwise, having represented it), but in diplomacy there is no such call."—ED.

rate it is only by Zubair or the Turks you will get out of the Soudan before November 1885!!!!!

The Turks are the best solution, though most expensive. *They would keep the Soudan:* give them £2,000,000. The next best is Zubair with £500,000, and £100,000 a year for two years; he will keep the Soudan *for a time.* (In both cases slave-trade will flourish), thus you will be quiet in Egypt, and will be able to *retreat to Egypt in January*, 1885. *If you do not do this*, then be prepared for a *deal of worry and danger*, and your campaign will be *entirely unprofitable and devoid of prestige*,* for the day after you leave Kartoum the Mahdi will walk in and say he drove you out, which is not pleasant in India or elsewhere.

In discussing this question I have entirely put my own peculiar views out of the question: to give up countries which are to some degree civilised, which, if properly governed, are quiet and orderly, to the Turks or to Zubair, and to allow of the slave-trade to flourish again in tenfold intensity, is not a very high *rôle*, but *quoi faire?* We have not the men to govern these lands, we cannot afford the money; consequently, I advise what I have said. When I left the Soudan it was quiet and covered its expenses, and there was no bother to have continued to have governed it. Now it is different, and would need an outlay which our Government will not give. (It is because the cloth is short I recommend the shape of coat to be such.)

* Up to the present we have neither given the Soudan to the Turks nor have we established Zubair as Governor-General, but we have had "*a deal of worry and danger*," and the campaign has been "*entirely unprofitable and devoid of prestige.*"—ED.

It would be nobler to keep the Soudan, but it is too much to expect our taxpayers to agree to (and besides which, "Plutarch's Lives" are no longer in vogue, and "*you must pay me well ere I go to the Soudan*" is the idea). The Soudan could (if cut off from excrescences) be made to pay its expenses, but it would need a *dictator*, and I would not take the post if offered to me.

October 26.—Three women came in from Waled a Goun. The idea is gaining ground that the Mahdi is dead, and that his Vakeel is acting his part. The Arabs are thinking of placing a station at Kerowé.

Yesterday week was the anniversary of Hicks's defeat, 1st November, 1883, though I believe it went on for three days, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd November.

The Arabs have brought a gun nearer Bourré to-day, probably emboldened by absence of the steamers. Two lieutenants, one sergeant-major, two serjeants, one soldier, and one slave came into Omdurman from the Arab camp. They say the Mahdi is alive; with him are Saleh Pasha, in chains, Hussein Pasha Khalifa, Elias Pasha, and all the Europeans. They heard a report (now some days old) that the Expeditionary Force was two days distant from Berber. The two lieutenants were with Hicks; they say the army died of thirst, and scarcely fought at all. With the Mahdi are 5000 men, of which 1000 are black troops, 150 are Egyptian troops. What little weight do engineers place on the existence of populations in fortresses, yet this existence is all-important; more so than the works. Malta and Gibraltar are weak, because of their civil population.

The Arabs have a big tent at Giraffe this evening. The lieutenants who came in say the Mahdi will try and place a station in the place we drove them out of —on the North Front—in August last, just before our defeat at El foun. Goba, with the exception of Mahomed Seyd Osman's house and the Mosque, is destroyed. Salaam Pasha's is nearly so.

8 P.M.—Two slaves have come into Omdurman. They say "*the regulars* in the camp of Mahomet Achmet, *the Mahdi*, *went this afternoon* to the Dem, or camp of *Faki Mustapha*, and looted it, firing on the soldiers of Faki Mustapha, who resisted the plundering." I fear it is all fudge.

October 27.—One sergeant-major and two slaves came into Omdurman this morning. Sent out two spies towards Shendy.

One thing which (although spiteful) would cause me intense pleasure if the "*rapid retreat*" is carried out, is that the English would just walk into those Shaggyeh and Bashi Bazouks, and bundle them all out, and thus pay them out for the worry they have given me, and for their meanness.

If the Turks come here, you would have scarcely anyone to send down, and you would hand over the Shaggyeh and Bashi Bazouks to the Turks, and all the Divans, &c. Nothing then could be better for you than to get the Turks here. You would get off all responsibility of Kassala and Sennaar, and you would let the Turks and the King of Abyssinia settle about the *Hewitt Treaty*. You would also get off the bother of the Equator and Bahr Gazelle, if it has not fallen.

You would know exactly what sum you had to

pay, and save no end of expense and time and vexation with regard to the settlement of claims. Remember that Baring authorised me to draw more than £100,000; indeed, he said, "Such sum as you need." So you are responsible for paper-money issued.

You would make up with the Sultan, and, as for giving up Suakin and Massowah to the Turks it is nothing; for those ports are useless, except as ports of the Soudan, and would be a bother to you to keep, if the Mahdi has the Soudan. You would be always in strict blockade on land side.*

The more I think of it the more the Turk solution appears Hobson's choice. I can see no option, unless, ere you arrived at Kartoum, Kartoum fell, and then, even, it would not look well to go back from Berber, while that even would be dangerous to some degree; for the Dongola people would see you meant to evacuate, and would be hostile. You have gone so far and spent so much that I cannot see anything for it but to go on. And the Turks are the only solution which affords the certainty of being able to stop. I get out of all my troubles if the Turks come, for I shunt them on the Turks, and so do you. The idea is that when the English come here the Arabs will bolt.

Stewart's servant, Macktar, must needs go and marry another wife. How they can go on like this, marrying and giving in marriage, when one can never say, that to-morrow is our own, is wonderful. Tangi has taken two wives up here!

* We are at present not only in strict blockade on the land side of Suakin, but absolutely besieged.—ED.

The Government shall not get out of the desertion of Kassala (if they take cover under the Hewitt Treaty and say, "we arranged with the King of Abyssinia to look after that country"), if they do desert it, for the King will never move, and all who have ever known anything of Abyssinia must know he can never move. There is a report in town that Slatin has been put in chains. I should not be at all surprised.

The sergeant-major, soldiers, and two men, Shaggyeh, who came in to-day, say that Slatin is not a prisoner. The sergeant-major states that one of our soldiers escaped from Omdurman three days ago. On inquiry, I find that it is true, and the officer in command never reported it. The sergeant-major says the Arabs meditate an attack on Omdurman, in consequence of what the deserter told them. This is the *fourth* desertion since March that I know of, and it is the *first* desertion among the soldiers (with saving clause) that I know of. Arabs fired on the Santels* at the end of the lines on the White Nile, and struck one. The Arabs fired fourteen times with Krupp guns; they retired when we fired twice on them; they fired from their old battery near the Tree "el Sheddarah." Some time ago I gave Ferratch Pasha £100 a month, and I afterwards made him a Ferile, or General of Division, for political reasons. He had the cheek to ask me to give him £150 a month (the sum I used to give the Seraskier or Commander-in-Chief in the Soudan in old times, but which was £50 beyond regulation). He put in an application a few days ago for the £150, and forage for eight horses! Quite ignoring the state of

* Barges.—ED.

the Dhoora exchequer, I said, "Wait." He was foolish enough to renew the application, which I tore up. He may go to the Arabs if he likes. The Arabs appear to be passing the Blue Nile at Giraffe, they may be going to place a post at Halfeyeh, the Sheikh el Obeyed refusing to send his men there, we shall see to-morrow. It is not from any feeling of respect to the people up here that I urge their relief, but it is because they are such a weak selfish lot, and because their qualities do not affect the question of our duties to them. The Redemption would never have taken place if it had depended on our merits.

I must say I rather revel at the thought of the dismay which will attend the reduction of salaries to quarter their present rate, they have been so very selfish about these things. I believe if the Mahdi would only give them half the present rate, they would go to the Mahdi, but the Mahdi's service is *gratuitous*, so there is no fear of that. I go out, a black Bashi Bazouk addresses me on the inadequacy of his pay and rations. I whisper to him, "*Go to Sheikh el Obeyed*," he grins and evaporates. I do not care a bit now. We must either be relieved, or fall, before the end of November, or at the end of November. I am meditating the sending down of "*Husseinyeh*" with this post; if the Arabs come to Halfeyeh I then cut off all hopes of our escape, for the *Ismailia* steamer would not be fit to go down to Berber. The financial affairs up here will be a precious job.

It amuses me to find people here holding on to the delusion that the old state of affairs is likely to come back as to the Government, and saying, "You are going to stay with us as Governor-General, and

things are to be as of old." I answer, "I would not take you again at any price after your meanness." They say, "Oh, yes, the people are not well behaved, &c., &c., but you will stay *for the glory of God*" (*i.e.* our interests). They are an amusing lot: Allah on lips, self interest at heart, and such self interest, as is *positively naked*, and they even laugh at it.

A soldier and a slave came in to-night to Omdurman. They say the Mahdi is undecided what to do. The regulars with the Mahdi have been robbing the Arabs, so the Mahdi has taken away their arms.

Spy in from Sennaar fifteen days ago with letters,* which say Sennaar is all right. This was in answer to a letter I sent to Sennaar saying, "Expedition was on its way to relieve the *garrisons*, *so Sennaar depends on me to see after it.*"

October 28.—The man who came from Sennaar says the Mahdi has ordered all the Arabs to congregate at Kartoum from all parts. Sheikh el Obeyed has made a station close to Giraffe, on right bank of Blue Nile. They have two boats plying across the river, taking corn from Sheikh el Obeyed to Waled a Goun. Arabs had a reconnoitring party in the ruins of Omdurman village this morning.

One lieutenant, one sergeant-major, four soldiers, and one boatman came in this morning from the Arabs at Omdurman. Rumour says the steamers have been looting Shendy (I hope that it will be remembered none of the Egyptian soldiers, officers, or Pashas are

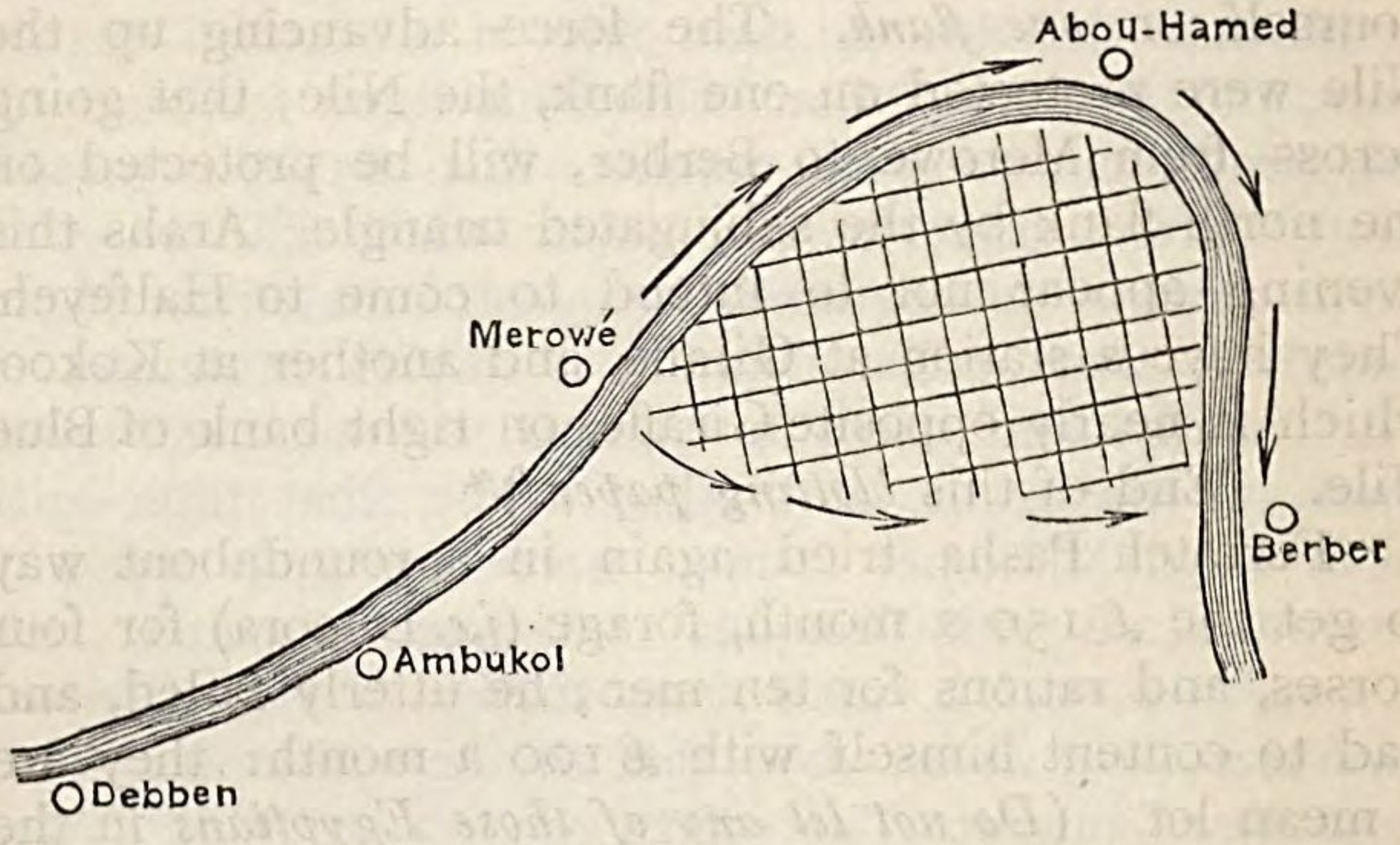
* Appendix T.

to come up here again). The boatman left Berber six days ago. He says the Arabs at Berber have sent the captured money, &c., of Berber into the desert; that Seyd Mahomet Osman, with a mixed force, were two days' march from El Damer; that the five steamers have brought Shendy, &c., into subjection; that the road from here to Shendy is free of Arabs, who have gone into the desert; that only in a certain district *near*, but *higher up* than Shoboloha, there are marauding Arabs, but no great number; that the *Abbas* passed down safely; that the two boats which had wood in them alone were captured, being abandoned on being emptied; that at Dar Djumna a sheikh pretended to be friendly, and tried to capture the steamer, which fired on the Arabs, and killed a lot; that three spies from Seyd Mahomet Osman were captured trying to communicate with Dongola, and were executed; that *a man went with a camel from Berber to Dar Djumna, and came back in one day;* that the expeditionary force is at Dar Djumna. The officer reports the Mahdi most undecided, one hour disarming the regulars, and at another hour arming them; the Arabs deserting, and others joining the Mahdi day after day.

A mine was exploded by a man on the North side, and I hear he is dangerously wounded, if not dead. On questioning the boatman again he explained the *Dar Djumna* is not the cataract, but is a place (near the cataract, just below Berber) one-and-a-half days from Berber. They, the expeditionary force, had eight steamers (one, the old screw boat of Dongola, I had towed up from Wady Halfa in 1878). The man said the *Abbas* went on to Dongola (why was it not sent up with the others?). I have given half month's pay to

all ranks below sergeant-major. I only owe them now half month's pay.

If the General of the expeditionary force has sent up a force, *by Nile to Berber*, *to take Berber*, and *then* if he marches across with *bulk of force* from Merowé, in my humble opinion he has done the right thing.



If Berber had not been taken it would have been a picnic. Baring!! Baring!!*

The force going up Nile from Merowé to Berber would have pretty well quieted the banks of the Nile,

* *Sir Evelyn Baring to Earl Granville.*

Cairo, February 28th, 1884.

"I have the honour to report to your Lordship that, although I did not specially consult General Gordon on the subject of sending British troops to Assouan, he telegraphs to me that if 100 British troops were sent to Assouan or Wady Halfa, they would run no more risk than Nile tourists, and would have the best effect. . . . I certainly would not risk sending so small a body as 100 men." —*Egypt No.* 12, *No.* 170.—ED.

for the *triangle* contained by *Merowé*, *Abou Hamed*, and *Berber*, so that the bulk of the force, moving from Merowé to the captured Berber, would only be exposed to attacks from the south flank, where there are few people. My experience is that whenever you can possibly do so, never expose yourself to be attacked on all points of the compass; at any rate secure yourself on *one flank*. The force advancing up the Nile were protected on one flank, the Nile; that going across from Merowé to Berber, will be protected on the north flank by the subjugated triangle. Arabs this evening appear not to intend to come to Halfeyeh. They have a station at Giraffe, and another at Kokoo, which is nearly opposite Giraffe, on right bank of Blue Nile. (End of this *blotting paper!*)*

Ferratch Pasha tried again in a roundabout way to get the £150 a month, forage (*i.e.* Dhoora) for four horses, and rations for ten men; he utterly failed, and had to content himself with £100 a month: they are a mean lot. (*Do not let any of those Egyptians* in the steamers *come back here* is my earnest prayer.) (Floyer will be furious at this misuse of telegraph forms.)** I am truly delighted that the *Abbas* did not leave the Greeks behind, and only abandoned the boats carrying wood. I hope in fourteen days to have another sister steamer to *Abbas* and *Husseinyeh* completed. I have told them to rivet her only six inches above water line, and to put holdfast rivets for the upper portion which is above water, and which does not require to be watertight.

* The foregoing portion of the Journal is written on tissue copying-paper.—ED.

** This part of the Journal is written on telegraph forms.—ED.

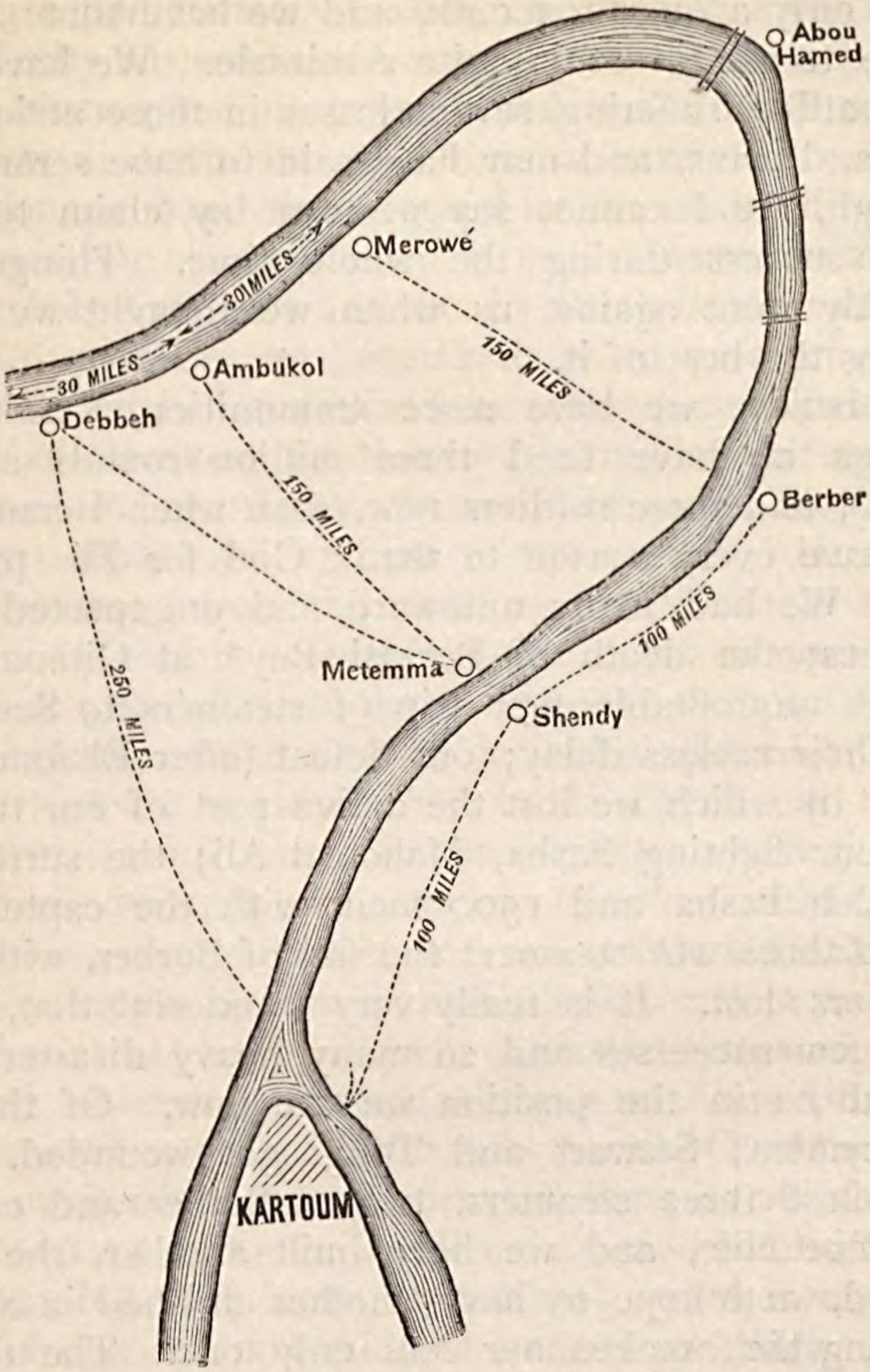
They say that the *Fascher** steamer had a gun on her; she went aground near Abou Shourim (the Father of the Truth), and got delayed in her pursuit of the *Abbas*. The man wounded by the mine is wounded in the head, chest, and legs; there is not much hope of his recovery.

Awaan (Stewart's friend, the secretary of Arabi) is behaving very badly in prison; he was put in chains by mistake and released, but it has had no effect: he abuses the soldiers. I expect he wrote to the Mahdi and told him of Stewart's departure and of the "Journal." His arrest is said to have been of great effect in the town; he is said to have preached for a long time in favour of the Mahdi.

October 29.—To-day, year 1301 A.H., is said to be about the date of Hicks's disaster; it was on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd November, but with the Arabs it was the 12th, 13th, 14th Moharrem. The news was known in Cairo three weeks after the event occurred; *since that date up to this date* nine people have come up as reinforcements—myself, Stewart, Herbin, Hussein, Tongi, Ruckdi, and three servants, and not one penny of money.** Of those who came up, two, Stewart and Herbin, have gone down: Hussein is dead, so six of the reinforcements alone remain, while we must have sent down over 1500 and 700 soldiers, total 2200, including the two Pashas, Ibrahim Hardar, and Hussein

* Captured at Berber by the Arabs.—ED.

** General Gordon asks in an undated telegram, written after the fall of Berber: "Is it right that I should have been sent to Kartoum with only seven followers, after the destruction of Hicks's army, and no attention paid to me till communications were cut?"—ED.



Cheri, Coetlogon, &c. The regulars, who were in arrears of pay for three months when I came, are now only owed half a month, while the Bashi Bazouks are

owed only a quarter month, and we have some £500 in the treasury. It is quite a miracle. We have lost two battles, suffering severe losses in those actions of men and arms, and may have said to have scrambled through, for I cannot say we can lay claim to any great success during the whole time. Things apparently went against us when we thought we were getting the best of it.

I believe we have more ammunition, Remington (though we have fired three million rounds at the Arabs), and more soldiers now, than when I came up. We have every reason to thank God for His protection. We had many untoward and unexpected misfortunes; the death of Berzati Bey* at Gitana; the almost unprofitable first trip of steamers to Sennaar, and their useless delay; our defeat (after El foun victory), by which we lost the active part of our troops, and our fighting Pasha, Mahomet Ali; the surrender of Saleh Pasha and 1500 men, with the capture of the *Mahomet Ali* steamer; the fall of Berber, with two steamers lost. It is really very wonderful that, with such few successes and so many heavy disasters, we should be in the position we are now. Of the reinforcement, Stewart and Tongi got wounded. We have lost three steamers, two at Berber and one at the Blue Nile, and we have built another, the *Husseinyeh*, and hope to have another finished in a fortnight, which makes our loss only one. The defeat

* Formerly General Gordon's under secretary and secretary. He was of old and good family, and greatly respected by General Gordon, who said in 1879: "A few men like Berzati Bey would regenerate Egypt, but they are rare."—ED.

near El foun brought about the arrival here of the Mahdi, which might have been very serious, but his arrival has been apparently rendered innocuous. We have £40,000 in Treasury IN PAPER, and £500. When I came up, there was £5000 in Treasury. We have £15,000 out in the town in paper money. When I came, we had two Pashas, *Ibrahim Hardar*, *Hussein Cheri;* we have now two, *Ferratch* and *Nutzer Pasha.* Two women, wives of the men who escaped yesterday (with another very small brown baby), came into Omdurman to-day. They say the Arabs are very angry about the desertions; also a boy came in. It would seem, looking over the past months, that, if taken in detail, events have been very much against us; while, if taken generally, we have been most successful. I always had an idea we would not be allowed any success which we could impute to ourselves; that events would be so ruled that we should just *scramble* through and have nothing to boast of. Mahomet Ali Pasha's defeat was owing to his and his men and the people of Khartoum's desire to *loot* Sheikh el Obeyed (the *man*, not the city). It was against my grain, for I wanted to capture Berber, which was the proper military operation to undertake; it was only because they were so anxious, and represented the affair as so easy, that I consented to it. Perhaps, if *we* had taken Berber, Her Majesty's Government would have said that no expedition was necessary for the *relief of the garrisons;* but it would not have been correct to reason thus, for, though Berber might have been taken, we could not have garrisoned it; and it would have been a barren victory, and not have done much towards the

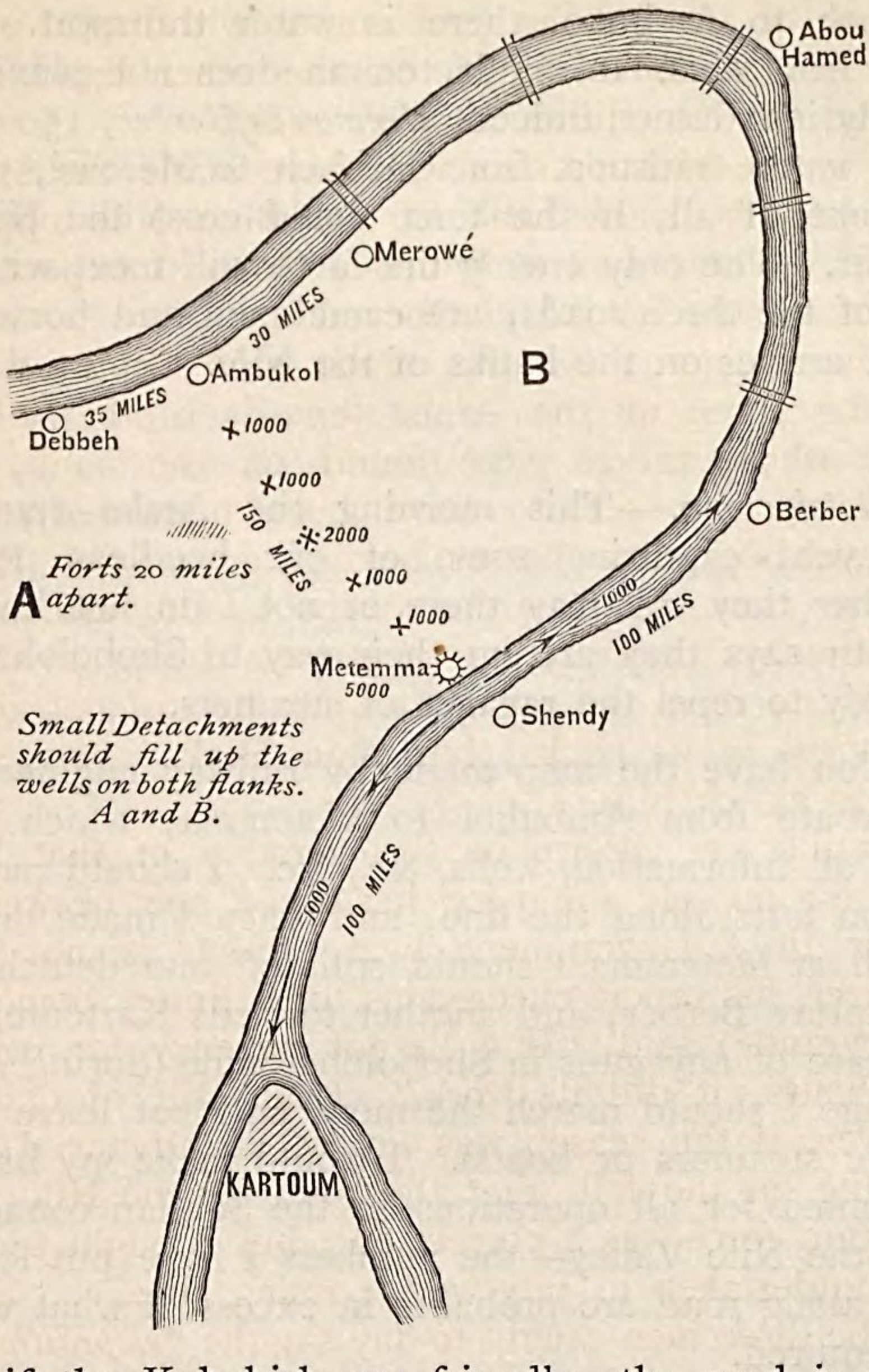
solution of the Soudan problem or withdrawal of the garrisons, while it might, on the other hand, have stopped the expedition for *their relief*.

It is the Mahdi's men who have made the station at Kokoo on right bank of the Blue Nile opposite Giraffe, not the men of Waled a Goun; I expect it is to overawe the Sheikh el Obeyed.

The Baggaras on the north side captured this morning three of the Arabs (one is brother of the writer whose things were found on the bank, and whom we supposed to have been murdered); they were stealing three horses belonging to Saleh Pasha. A slave came in from the Arabs at Omdurman; he says the Mahdi says, the Moharrem being a sacred month, he does not mean to fight; he did not act on that view *in re* Hicks; but then Hicks attacked or tried to attack him.

Doubts are thrown on the veracity of that boatman, for he told some few lies about how he went to Berber in a Government boat, which is not true. However, his report cheered us for a time. Some one (Talleyrand?) said, "If a lie got currency for twenty-four hours, it did its work." I am still of opinion, however, if the season was not so far advanced, and the Nile on the fall, that the route by the Nile for a COVERING force was a correct one, but it ought to have been undertaken in July with a rising Nile.

The three men caught to-day say the "*expeditionary force is still at Debbeh*," and I expect this is the truth, for the eight steamers coming up the Nile is scarcely possible now, since the Nile is falling. The distance direct from Kartoum to Debbeh is nearly 250 miles,



and if the Kababish are friendly, the road is not a bad one; however, I think *Ambukol to Metemma* (could the force know I had the five steamers at Metemma) would be better, for it is only 150 miles, and from

Debbeh to Ambukol there is water transport. The road from Ambukol to Metemma does not plunge so deeply into desert; indeed, *Merowé to Berber*, 150 miles, with water transport from Debbeh to Merowé, would be best of all, if the force could cross the Nile at Berber. The only enemy the force will meet with, on any of the three roads, are camel-men and horsemen, till it arrives on the banks of the Nile.

October 30.—This morning the Arabs came to Halfeyeh, capturing some of our heedless people; whether they will stay there or not I do not know—rumour says they are on their way to Shoboloha and Shendy to repel the ravages of steamers.

You have the map made by railway engineers of the route from Ambukol to Metemma, which must have all information, wells, &c., &c. I should put five station forts along the line, and when I made my debouch at Metemma I should split off one detachment to capture Berber, and another towards Kartoum, taking care of any guns in Shoboloha defile (during which passage I should march the men, and not leave them in the steamers or boats). I would make my base at Metemma for all operations in the Soudan connected with the Nile Valley—the numbers I have put for the forts along road are probably in excess of what would be required.

The Arab force which went towards the north (? Shendy) consists of 200 footmen, and 50 horse.

Two men came in from the south front—they say

the Sheikh el Obeyed is with the Mahdi; and Waled a Goun, and Abou Gugliz are at Giraffe. I expect that the Arabs have captured one of our merchant's boats at Halfeyeh.

We have 1300 men in the North Fort, yet 250 Arabs went boldly across our front of Halfeyeh, and we do not dare to show our noses; this speaks for our *morale*.

A slave came in at Omdurman; he says the Mahdi says he will not fight until after Moharrem (to-day is 12 Moharrem).

Arabs fired on the lines from near the White Nile to-day, but did no harm. Not being able to sleep last night, I was late in getting up, and consequently every one also slept and no proper look-out was kept on the Arabs. I should think I had written twenty orders about their keeping a look-out, but it is of no use. The Arabs have gone back to Giraffe. I am going to make the officer of North Fort pay compensation for the men wounded, and to the families of those killed, in this raid. The map made by the railway engineers (1874-1875) must have every information as to water supply on Ambukol-Metemma road.

In reality, the relief of the garrisons is only a question of crossing over a *well-surveyed road* of 150 *miles*, at the end of which are found *five steamers* and *nine guns:* of course there is a great deal of trouble in transport arrangements, but no particular danger.

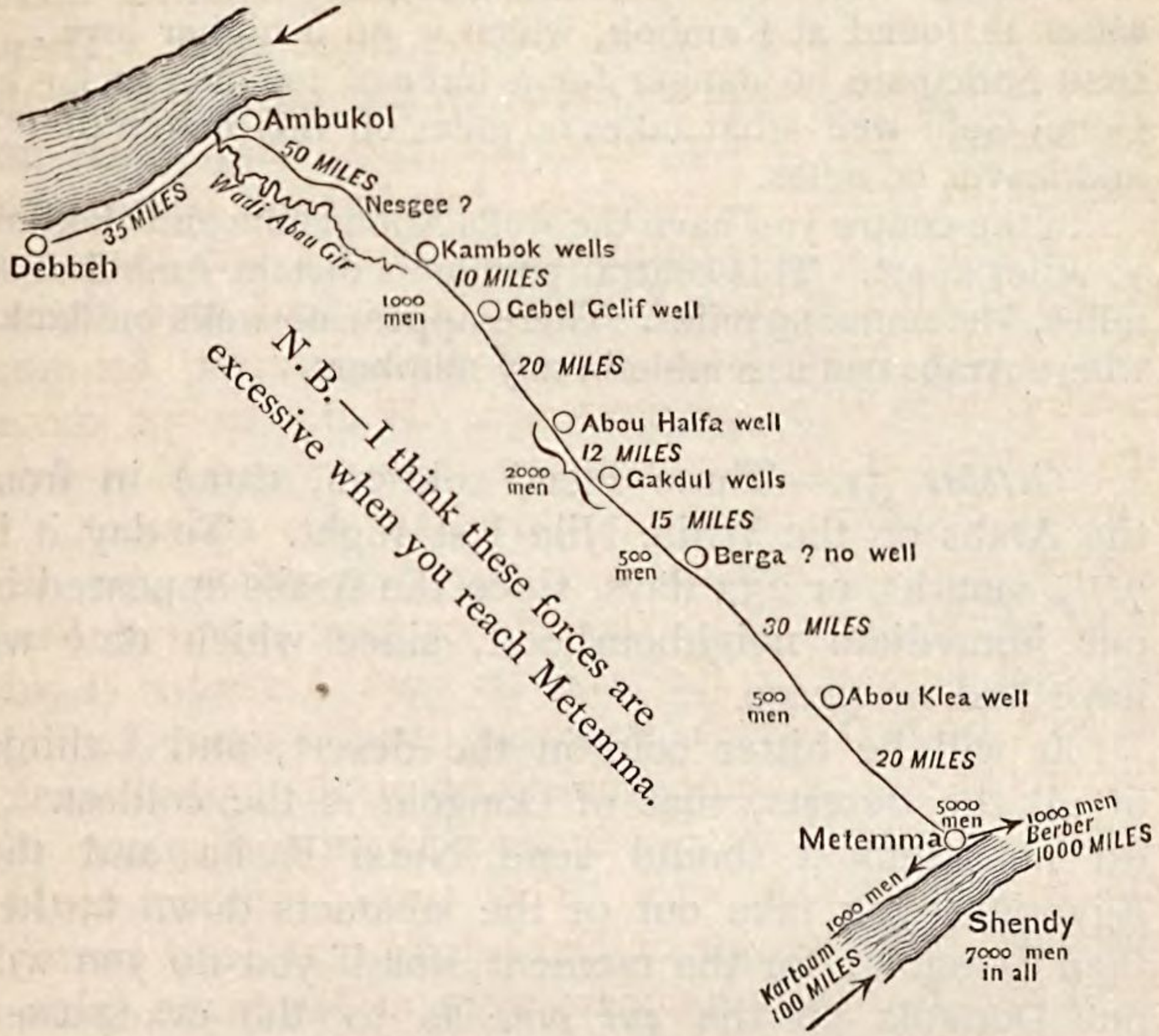
I believe we (*i.e.* those Shaggyeh) lost to-day twenty-three soldiers taken prisoners, one killed, one wounded; seventeen cows, five women, eight slaves, three don-

keys, seven horses,* twenty-four Remington rifles** captured; and this after I had repeatedly warned them of an impending attack, and specially warned them last night after the capture of the three spies. They, these Shaggyeh, number 1200; on the other side, with 30 horses, the Arabs were not 200; they made no attempt to defend themselves; dreadful lot, how I look forward to their disbandment! Had I left them at Halfeyeh what a time I should have had with them. The Arabs have paid us off with interest for our cavalry raids of a few days ago. If any troops come up, as soon as the environs are clear around Kartoum, I would recommend their immediate disbandment. I cannot see any reason why the "*expedition for the relief of the garrisons*" should not have *captured Berber*, and *arrived at Kartoum on* 10*th November* (Lord Mayor's Show), which is giving ample time; saying that troops did advance from Cairo on the 15th August, which I guess (from Kitchener's laconic dispatch of 31st August) was the case. That strong rumours could not have been known at Debbeh (for at least twenty days) that Kartoum steamers were at Metemma (plundering right and left) is most unlikely, even if my many spies (sent with notes to this effect) did not get

* Two of these horses returned to-day; as I expect the riders threw themselves off and let their horses loose, and that, too, at a distance so great that the Arabs did not see them!!!

** I am going to make them pay for twenty-two of the Remingtons, for it appears doubtful if they were captured, inasmuch as to-day they asked me to send the steamer down to look for them. I expect the men simply threw them down and bolted upon the appearance of the Arabs.

through one of their number. These rumours should have pointed out that the Ambukol-Metemma road



was THE ROAD to follow—even if not decided on before, which is most probable.

ROUTE AMBUKOL TO METEMMA.—ITINERARY OF ARABS.

Ambukol to Nesgee	. . .	24 hours.
Nesgee to Om Halfa	. . .	12 ,,
Om Halfa to Gakdul	. . .	12 ,,
Gakdul to Abou Klea	. . .	18 ,,
Abou Klea to Metemma	. . .	12 ,,
Caravan	. . . .	78 ,,

Wells plentifully supplied.

No wells of import on flanks.

I expect water can be found along Wadi Abou Gir, as water is found at Kambok, which is on a higher level. I shall anticipate no danger for a force of 200 men as far as Gebel Gelif well—that takes 60 miles off this march of 150 and leaves 90 miles.

In the centre you have the wells Abou Halfa and Gakdul, 12 miles apart. This central portion is distant Ambukol 80 miles, Metemma 65 miles. There appear no wells on flanks where Arabs can assemble in any numbers.

October 31.—Three men, soldiers, came in from the Arabs on the White Nile last night. To-day it is $7^{23}/_{30}$ months, or 233 days, since the Arabs appeared in our immediate neighbourhood, since which date we have had no peace.

It will be bitter cold in the desert, and I think, of all the deserts, that of Dongola is the coldest. I do not think I should send Nutzi Pasha and the Egyptians you take out of the steamers down further than Dongola, for the moment, for if you do you will put Dongola on the *qui vive* as to the evacuation. Certainly, for those who are for a rapid retreat, having a *tête du pont* (so to say) at Metemma, much facilitates the movement; for the garrisons and the people of Kartoum and Sennaar. Shendy-Metemma is evidently the chief strategical point of the Soudan; for from it you reach Kartoum, Sennaar, and Berber by water, and Kassala by the Atbara valley; but, short of making Fowler's railway to Shendy, I should prefer the making of stations along the Nile, for a peace route and for small forces, as by the Nile you get free of

camel transport, which depends on the temper of the Arab tribes; besides, the Nile route is cheaper, and could be put into execution with one high Nile.

The three soldiers who came in last night have one sergeant-major among them. He says Mahmound Khalifa wrote to his father, who is with Mahomet Achmet, in which he says that the English General wants him to get camels in great haste; that he is delaying as much as possible; that the English General wants to go in one body; that he is trying to get him to go in four bodies; *that Mahmound Khalifa* is a traitor, like all his family; and he should catch it, for I expect this information is correct. The sergeant-major says that Mahmound Khalifa is at Dongola or Debbeh. The Mahdi is going into a cave for this month and next; he is now in his cave. All the Europeans are with the Mahdi (not in the cave). Slatin is very good friends with the Mahdi, and *sees him* every day (?). (This is rather against the cave report.)

The mysterious Frenchman is not with the Mahdi, but in Kordofan. The letter which I spoke of as coming from Mahmound Khalifa arrived at the Mahdi's camp fifteen days ago, so left Dongola about twenty-two days ago (9th October). Can it be remembered whether at that time, viz. 9th October, any altercation took place on subject of march?* In the letter is a

* It was about this date that the recall of Lord Wolseley was generally rumoured at home and abroad. On the 10th of October this rumoured recall was officially contradicted. The "Times," however, said: "We have every confidence in the veracity and good information of our correspondent, but so incredible did his

remark, that the English General said he wished "all to go together, for he would not leave a sick man behind." The man says, Mahmound Khalifa wrote another letter to his father, stating the start from Dongola towards Berber. I can produce the sergeant-major who gave this information.

Church parade much as usual. I expect they exhibited the captives of yesterday. It is extraordinary if we are employing Mahmound Khalifa, when his father, Hussein Pasha Khalifa, is a *so called* prisoner of the Mahdi. Steward knows, I think, that the father gave up Berber by more or less treachery.

I hope the Mudir of Dongola will look after this man. The sergeant-major says "that the Mahdi declares" he will execute the Sheik el Islam (whom I put in prison) for preventing our surrendering, by which bit of news *I read* that an adherent of the Sheikh el Islam got some friends of his to bribe the sergeant-major *to say this* while on his way to the Palace.

Three men more have come in—one sergeant, one corporal, and a slave—from the Arabs at Omdurman. They say many Arabs leave daily for Kordofan; the Mahdi has sent three companies of regulars to bring back deserters; the Mahdi has been taking women from others, which makes the Arabs doubt his holiness; he has only forty rounds for each Krupp gun,

statement seem at first sight that we have made further inquiries, in order to be quite sure there was no mistake in its transmission." —ED.

of which he has two. The slave was a great fat bull-faced fellow. He was honest, for when I asked him why he came here, he said, "because he got so little to eat with the Arabs." His appearance belied his words. These men said nothing of the cave business. The living skeleton in hospital (Stewart knows him) departed this life yesterday—I will not say, deeply regretted, except by *me in a small way*, for I knew him so long. It turns out that the Shaggyeh chief who commanded in the North Fort slept in town the day before yesterday night, and so was absent at yesterday morning's catastrophe; also the officer Osman Bey, who went down to Berber with steamers to escort the *Abbas* past Berber, and who let the *Fascher* pursue the *Abbas* never reported this man's absence; I have turned them out, and cut them each a month's pay. (No sentry as usual, on North Fort. They are incorrigible. 2 P.M. Though their men have gone to look for missing rifles, I ordered them thirty blows: *i.e.* the sentries).

Two cows have kindly walked into Omdurman Fort. The Arabs fired a few shots on the lines near the White Nile, which did not reach them; I expect the Arab chiefs send out the regulars and tell them to fire on the lines, and the regulars obey orders much as my orders are obeyed here. The North Fort hate my telescope; day and night I work them. It is one of Chevalier's, of Paris, which I picked up here and gave £5 for, it is by far the best glass I ever saw. Commander J. Baker, R.N., has the *best* opera-glasses; he got them from me at Berberah in 1878, in exchange; they belonged to the Egyptian Govern-

ment. It was the father of Hussein Pasha Khalifa who led the Egyptians into the Soudan in 1823. The family comes from Assouan, for this, the grant of monopoly of commerce through Korosko desert was given to the family. It was taken away from them in Ismail Pasha Ayoub's time, about 1872, and I restored it to them. I heard the Mahdi gave them this monopoly after the fall of Berber, or rather agreed to their retaining it. I think the only good one of the family was Sheikh Hamid, who died this year. I sent the horsemen of these Shaggyeh out to the scene of yesterday's disaster; they recovered a horse! two donkeys! and three Remingtons! and found the body of one of their slaves. I am going to make them pay for the lost Remingtons, nineteen in number now. I cannot afford to have Remingtons thrown away like that. This recalls to my mind how, when I had 700 men in the North Fort, which consisted of two houses distant sixty yards apart, the great Melon, who was in the house where the telegraph office is, declined to open the door of his house and sent a message to the other house, for fear of the Arabs, who were camped three miles distant.

I have ever felt the greatest insecurity respecting the lines, for I believe one hundred determined men would carry them with ease, if they made their attack on the Shaggyeh or Bashi Bazouk part. These creatures used to shut themselves into the houses at about 7 P.M., and never go out till it was broad daylight; they were not eighty yards from the river. The Cairo Turkish Bashi Bazouks, the Shaggyeh and the Fellaheen soldiers, I will back against any troops in the world

for *cowardice!* I expect the reason why the Arabs did not take the three recaptured horses was because they were as frightened nearly as our men (*vide* p. 296); the worst of it is, that it is taken generally as a thing of "*matter of course*" by the Kartoum people, and, one may say, officers; no one is a bit put out or ashamed; it teaches no experience. *Vide* the absence of sentries on the fort to-day, who, I expect, cannot sit down over-comfortably to-night after their thirty blows.

One cannot help feeling amused at these Shaggyehs, for they are the most arrant braggadocios, as are the Cairo Turkish Bashi Bazouks, and when you come up, if you do, you will see how they will exhibit. They have little kettledrums about a span in diameter; whenever I hear them I feel viciously inclined. This dates back many years. The Shaggyeh are very quiet to-day; they are all boxed up in the houses; very few have ventured out more than 2000 yards. The report is that they are ashamed, which, if words could make them so, they ought to be; but I doubt it. They have not beaten their kettledrums to-night; yes, they have begun to beat them now. On one occasion, when I had two guns in their fort, I had a truly miserable night; for a cow would have taken the fort, though there were 1200 men in it. It was more for the guns than for them that I was anxious. The horse, which was recovered to-day, was saddled and *was* bridled, but, like a wise brute, as he could not eat with the bit in his mouth, he put his foot on the bridle and broke it off. I telegraphed to the rider "that I felt sure he could not look him in the

face after leaving him out all night for nothing with the saddle on."*

November 1.—The Arabs came up to their old fort in front of Bourré this morning and fired a few shots; they did not stay five minutes there. A Boulak Basha, his son, and two slaves came in to Omdurman and report the Mahdi is in the cave; that Slatin has retained all his property; that the Arabs continue to desert the Mahdi, who sends the regulars after them; that the deserting Arabs fight the soldiers, and have killed many of them; that the Arabs generally doubt the mission of the Mahdi, and wish for the Government. The Mahdi is not going to fight during Moharrem and Saphia months. Two hundred and fifty Arabs deserted yesterday. The Mahdi sent the regulars after them, and four regulars were killed, and the deserters got away. Fifty to one hundred per diem run away. These people are a fine lot. The merchants of the market have been refusing to give more than three-and-a-half reals for a sovereign, five to six reals being the proper rate; so I captured nine of the chief of them, and have sent them to the lines with a pretended order to send them out to Waled a Goun, but with orders to keep them on the lines. I

* It is interesting to note how often General Gordon breaks away abruptly from a subject which is irritating him, and deals with one which has a touch of humour in it. He never does this when he is discussing or explaining any particular point; it is only when he is thoroughly annoyed with his subject that he suddenly leaves it.—ED.

hope this will cure them. I shall let them in again when they sign a paper agreeing to my terms. Of course it is tyranny, but there is no other course to be pursued. The nine culprits, three soldiers with fixed bayonets before, three soldiers with ditto behind, and a mounted cavass on each flank, are wending their way to the lines through the market. Quite a procession! My servants are my staff. I never hear these sort of things from the officials, who are bribed, I expect, to keep silence.

7 P.M. A small bright fire in direction of and below Halfeyeh, lasting scarcely a minute. I flatter myself I keep a good look out.*

Two soldiers came to Omdurman, escaping from the Arabs this evening. Nothing new.

One of the trying things of this existence is the way that one is waylaid as one goes out with petitions for dhoora, and howled at. These are the times when one feels *amiably* disposed towards the gentlemen who have ruled in Cairo for the last seven years.

November 2.—Those men I sent out ostensibly to the Arabs have given in, and I have let them back into town. I hate these coercive measures. But what is to be done? This frightening them is better than putting them in prison, or chaining them. No words are of any avail, or orders. Two dervishes with their weapons presented themselves before lines this morn-

* General Gordon was in the habit of passing a great part of the day and of the night on the roof of his palace.—ED.

ing, saying they had a letter from the Mahdi for me (at Mesalamieh Gate). I said, "Leave the letter and go back; I will not let you in. It is no use any more writing."

The Arabs fired on the lines near the White Nile. We answered, and committed some damage, from all appearance; for the whole Dem turned out. I have forbidden all firing on the Arabs, unless they come so near as to injure our people; for I expect this vague firing is only performed by the captured soldiers to conform, in appearance, to the orders of the Arab chiefs.

Letter has come in;* it is an address to the whole town; it has no seal, the usual rubbish about the Mahdi being Mahdi, &c. A soldier came in from the Arabs at Omdurman; he says the Mahdi is not in the cave, but in a tent (very stupid man!) Some one has stolen 93,000 okes of biscuit; this robbery took place nearly a year ago, and was only found out two days ago. The people of the town wonder at one's getting no information; the last I had was from Kitchener, dated 31st August, and received 17th September, now forty-six days ago. Had our people sent to Kassala *viâ* Massowah,** there is no doubt information could have got through, but it is no use saying any more on the subject. I suppose you acted according to "your conscience, best of your ability, and custom of war in like cases."

* Appendix V.

** Massowah is only 466 miles from Kartoum, and less than half that distance from Kassala.—Ed.

3.30 P.M. Sentries off the roof of the North Fort again; sent over to have them flogged!

Rectified list of biscuit is 266,430 okes.

Dhoora is 2110 ardebs in magazine to-day—six weeks' consumption!! and then the sponge must be thrown up.

I could write volumes of pent-up wrath on this subject if I did not believe things are ordained and all work for the best. I am not at all inclined to order half rations with a view to any prolongation of our blockade; if I did so, it would probably end in a catastrophe* before the time, in which, if full rations are given, we should have exhausted our supplies. I should be an angel (which I am not, needless to say) if I was not rabid with Her Majesty's Government; but I hope I may be quiet on the subject of this Soudan and Cairo business, with its indecision; but to lose all my beautiful black soldiers is enough to make one angry with those who have the direction of our future.**

Arabs fired four rounds this evening towards the lines near White Nile, but did no harm (one shell fell in the town) with their Krupp.

November 3.—Two women and one boy came in to Omdurman from the Arabs; also seven cows walked

* *i.e.* In mutiny or a stampede to the Mahdi. "The belly governs the whole world."—ED.

** Here again General Gordon is really angry, and breaks off with a humorous touch about his black soldiers, so that he may, as it were, hold himself in.—ED.

into the same place. To-day is *our* anniversary of Hicks's defeat. I have let out several of the men whom I had arrested as adherents of the Mahdi; they have had a good warning.

4 P.M. *Bordeen* in sight: I have let out the Sheikh el Islam, Cadi, and the old Mudir. A soldier came from the Arabs to Omdurman; he says Slatin is a prisoner for the last three days. With this man came in a spy from the Mahdi, whom I put in prison. The Mahdi has sent regulars to the rear. I shall send down the *Bordeen* the day after to-morrow to Metemma, and shall send the *débris*, Tongi & Co. down with the steamer, and you can send them on to Cairo. I think this is noble on my part, for you get their boats and they use your camels. The post has come in from *Bordeen*. Kitchener's letter, saying "*Abbas* was captured" was a terrible blow (I send back the letters sent to Stewart in envelope).*

Kitchener asks who were on board: Stewart, Power, and Herbin, the French Consul, and the Greeks named in the margin on the other side.** I cannot understand

* Appendix X.

** List of Greeks who went in the steamer *Abbas*, 10 Sept. '84.

Demitrios Kapnoulas.	Demosthen Kapilos.
George Kepetzakos.	Demitrios Georgopoulos.
Herial Bolanaki.	George Kontis.
Alexandre Genacari.	Xenophon Apostolidis.
Nasum Abagui.	George Tantzos.
Nessim Morinos.	Jean Stergiou.
Demitrios Perdicakis.	Nicolas Kouvaras.
Michel Nomikos.	Jean Dermitrzakis.
Stauros Papadakis.	Michel Chatzi Christodoulou.
Jean Prospion.	

it, for the general opinion was that the route was quite safe for the *Abbas*, which had a mountain gun and some fifty soldiers in her. I can only put it down to some treachery on the part of the Arabs pretending to be friends.

I cannot decipher Lord Wolseley's telegram,* for Stewart took the cipher-books. (Please inform Foreign Office of *this*, for if he [Stewart] is killed, and *Abbas* captured, they, the cipher-books, are in the hands of the Mahdi.) I think cipher-messages are in some countries, like this, a mistake.

The Shendy steamers sent back ten wounded from Shendy, one seriously; and I hear they had five killed. For goodness' sake do not send back any Egyptians, *now* in steamers, to Kartoum; I include Pashas, officers, men, and exclude the sailors, engineers, and captains of steamers.

If *Abbas* is lost, I hope a Court of Inquiry will be held on the departure of Col. Stewart and Messrs. Power and Herbin; for when they left we had no news of an Expedition of Relief—*vide* my journal; also it was generally believed that the passage of the *Abbas* down was an absolute certainty without danger. I also add that Stewart, Herbin, and Power left of their own free will, and without any order from me, as the papers captured would show, if ever available. I refused to *order*, but I said, "If you like to go, I will assist you to go. It is at your own risk. The service you will perform is great, and you can do no good

* Appendix X.

here." *I wrote this to Col. Stewart*, in an official letter.

November 4.—I received private letters from Stanley, dated Congo, 5th May, and from Sir S. Baker, 1st June. I like the official note written on the envelope of Sir Samuel Baker's letter to me—"Communications avec la Soudan interrompues." I should think the communications were interrompues!!!

The Arabs have one gun at Shendy and one gun at Metemma; they struck *Mansowrah* four times.

I looked upon the descent of the *Abbas* as a certainty. I looked upon the relief of Kartoum as most uncertain; hence I sent down the cipher-books of the Foreign Office. Perhaps the *Abbas* got wrecked on the cataract. It is very sad. There is a report that the Sheikh el Obeyed is dead; if true, it will simplify that vexed question with Foreign Office of the *man* and the *city*. Arabs fired five shells at the Lines to-day; we answered with two, and they retired. If the capture of steamer is corroborated, tell French Consul-General that the Mahdi has his cipher, which was with Herbin. *If Abbas was captured by treachery, then I am not to blame; neither am I to blame if she struck a rock*, for she drew under two feet of water; and fifty boats (sailing) used to go down yearly to Cairo, with high Nile; *if they were attacked and overpowered, then I am to blame*, for I ought to have foreseen the chance, and prevented their going. But when they left we knew nothing of the Expedition, and I passed them under escort through Berber, which was the apparent only

danger they had to meet. The Mahdi, if it is true that he has captured the *Abbas*, found two of his own seals,* which we had forged but did not use, also all his letters to me, and the journal was in most careful detail, hour by hour, so to say. Steamer leaves at daybreak, 5th November, 1884.

C. G. GORDON.

* See Mahdi's remarks upon this in Appendix U.

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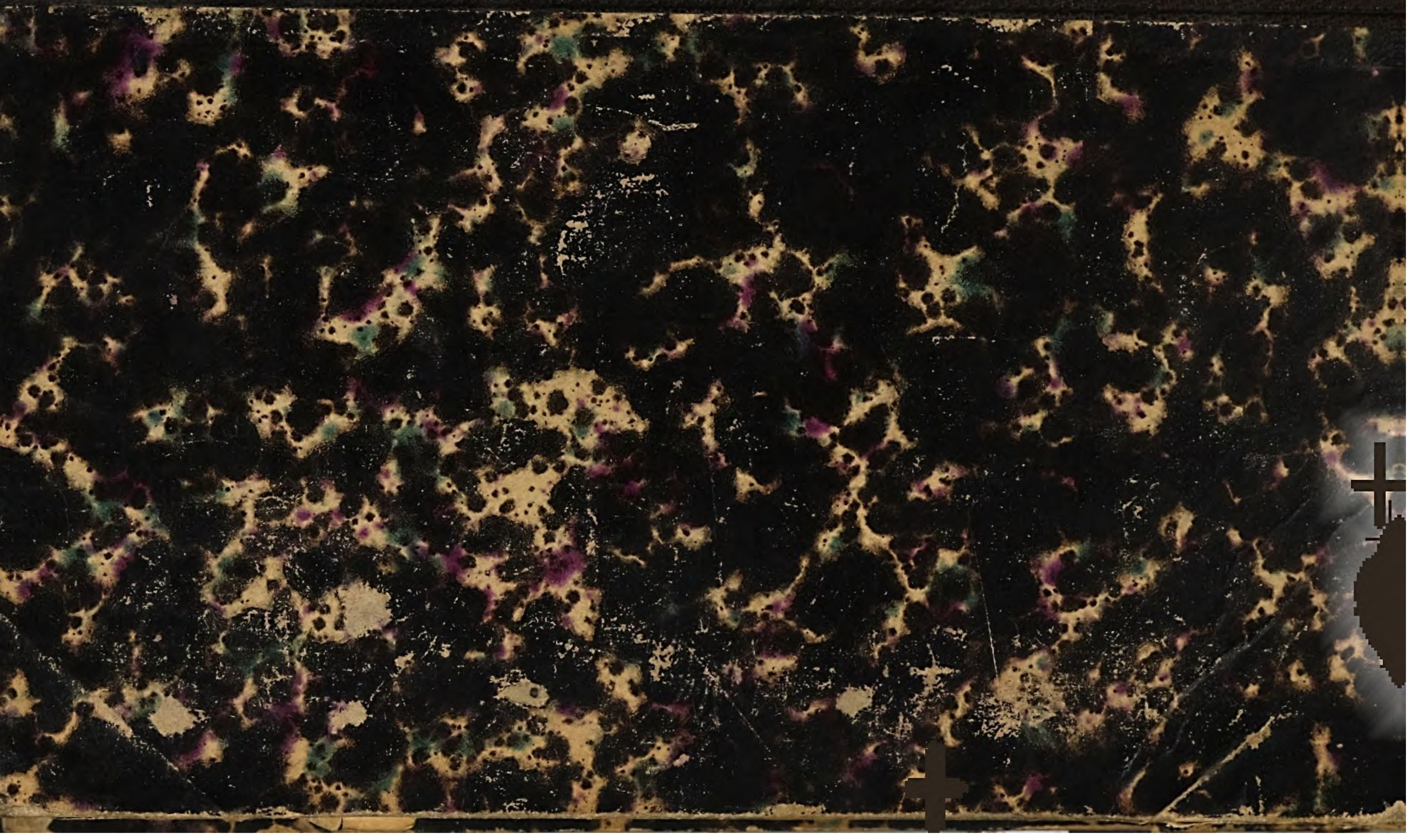

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